THE Spaniſh Colonie,

OR

Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and *geſtes of the Spaniardes in the weſt Indies*, called the newe World, for the ſpace of xl. yeeres: written in the Caſtilian tongue by the reuerend Biſhop Bartholomew de las Caſas or Caſaus, *a Friar of the order of* S. Dominicke.

And nowe firſt tranſlated into engliſh, by M. M. S.

¶ Imprinted at London for *William Broome*. 1583.

To the Reader.

Spaniſh cruelties and tyrannies, perpetrated in the West Indies, commonly termed The newe found worlde.

Briefly deſcribed in the Caſtilian language, by the Biſhop *Tryer Bartholomew de las Caſas* or *Caſaus*, a Spaniarde of the order of Saint Dominick, faithfully tranſlated by *Iames Aliggrode*, to ſerue as a Preſident and warning to the xij. Prouinces of the lowe Countries.

Happie is hee whome other mens harmes doe make to beware.

GOds iudgementes are ſo profound as mans wiſdome, no not the power of Angels is able to enter into their depth. Thou ſhalt (frendly Reader) in this diſcourſe beholde ſo many millions of mé put to death, as hardly there haue been ſo many ſpaniardes procreated into this worlde ſince their firſte fathers the Gothes inhabited their Countries, either ſince their ſecond progenitors the *Sarazens* expelled and murdered the moſt part of the Gothes, as it ſeemeth that the Spaniardes haue murdered and put to death in the Weſterne Indies by all ſuch meanes as barbarouſneſſe it ſelfe coulde imagine or forge vpon the anueld of crueltie. They haue deſtroyed thriſe ſo much lande as chriſtendome

ſtendome doth comprehende, ſuch torments haue they inuented, yea ſo great and exceſſiue haue their trecherie been, that the poſteritie ſhall hardly thinke that euer ſo barbarous or cruell a nation haue bin in the worlde, if as you woulde ſay we had not with our eyes ſeene it, and with our hands felt it. I confeſſe that I neuer ſoued that nation generally, by reaſon of their intollerable pride, notwithſtanding I can not but cõmend & loue ſundry excellent perſons that are among thẽ. Howbeit, God is my witnes, hatred procureth me not to write thoſe things, as alſo the authour of the booke is by nation a Spaniard, and beſides writeth farre more bitterly then my ſelfe.

But two reaſons haue moued me to publiſhe this preface, which I do dedicate to all the prouinces of the Lowe countreys: The one, to the end, awaking thẽſelus out of their ſleep, may begin to thinke vpon Gods iudgements: and refraine from their wickednes and vice. The other, that they may alſo conſider with what enemie they are to deale, and ſo to beholde as it were in a picture or table, what ſtay they are like to bee at, when through their rechleſneſſe, quarrels, controuerſies, and partialities themſelues haue opened the way to ſuch an enemie: and what they may looke for. Moſt mẽ do ground their opinion vpon the goodneſſe of their cauſe, concluding, that in as much as God is iuſt, he will graunt victorie to the right, and will ouerthrowe the wicked. This was Iobes friendes diſputation, where they concluded that for that Iob was afflicted, vndoubtedly he was wicked. Which reaſon is drawen out of a certaine rule, which it ſeemeth that nature hath printed in our hartes, that is, that God puniſheth the euill, and in mercie rewardeth the good deedes. Therevpon did the inhabitants of Malta report that Gods vengeance would not permit S. Paul to liue, when after he had eſcaped ſo dangerous ſhipwracke, the Viper leaped vpon his hande. Howebeit notwithſtanding this rule be certaine and true, yet do manie therein diuerſely deceiue them ſelues, concluding thereby that GOD ſendeth no affliction but to the wicked, as if hee laide not his croſſe alſo vpon the good: As Iob, the Prophetes, and Martyres: yea, his owne ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and that for the mortifiyng of the fleſhe, and more and more to quicken man in good liuing: and for his ſonne, to the ende in him to puniſh our ſinne which hee tooke vpon him. Others doe

beleeue that God wil neuer suffer sinne to bee long vnpunished, notwithstading ꝑ hauing long waited patiẽtly for our repentãce, his clemencie is at length conuerted into iustice. Some againe, that it is vnpossible for the wicked to gette the vpper hande in an euill cause, notwithstanding wee dayly see it fall out contrary: vndoubtedly the Turkes victories & conquestes in Christendome haue no foundation, but consist vpon meere tyrannie and vsurpation. For although Christians sinnes, especially the great abuse in Gods seruice, haue bin the causes of our punishment, yet must we confesse that the christians, what errors soeuer some of them do in their doctrine maintain, are not neuertheles so farre deuoid of the truth, as are the Turkes, and yet do we see howe mightily in few yeres they haue cõquered & encroched vpõ christendom. Also before the comming of the Turkes, namely soone after the time of *Mahamet*, there came such a flock of Satazins, that they deuoured first *Egypt*, then all *Affrick*, & rooting out Christianitie out of the said countries seazed vpon al Spaine: yea proceeding forward, they camped in *Aquitain* vpon the riuer of *Toyre*: insomuch that it was to be doubted ꝑ they might soone haue caught hold vpon France, & so vpon the rest of christẽdom, had not God raised vp that mightie Duke of *Brabant*, *Charles Martel*, who defeating them, driue them beyond the Pirenean mountaines. But if we list to consider the examples contained in the holy Bible, whose reasons are more exactly expounded by the prophets, we do find that in the time of K. *Hezechias*, although the head citie, namely Hierusalem, was not forced, yet the lesser townes being taken by the enemie, the flatte countrey spoyled, the K. and the princes of *Iuda* had no more left them but the bare walles of Hierusalem. Also, albeit God did marueilously strike the armie of *Senacherib*, and that his own children slew him in his gods temples: yet were not gods people free from suffering much, and from seeing the enemie enioy the most part of their law: their cõmons did beare that which nowe we know, & more then we would, that is what an enemy entring by force of armes into a land is able to do. But Nabuchadnezers victories were far others, whẽ he tooke, burned, & sacked euẽ the head citie, together with ꝑ very temple of Hierusalẽ, & took their K. P. & hie P. prisoners, & slu pulled out ꝑ eies, & fettered some of thẽ forcing the cõmons during the siege to eate their own dong & childrẽ. Who

Who is hee therefore that dare accuſe God of wrong, ſith ſuch tyrants be called the Axe in the Lordes hands, as the executioners of his iuſtice? Further wee ſee, that thoſe that haue the moſt right are by the wicked robbed, ſlaine, & murdered, which is neuertheleſſe Gods doing. For it is ſaid: Curſed be he that doth the Lordes worke negligently, in which place the holy ſcriptures do ſpeake of ſuch miniſters and inſtruments of God. In this diſcourſe of *Don Bartholomew de las Caſas*, wee do finde a manifeſt example. For I pray you what right had the Spaniards ouer the Indians: ſauing that the Pope had giuen them the ſaid land, and I leaue to your iudgemente what right hee had therein: for it is doubtfull whether his power doe ſtretch to the diſtributing of worldly kingdomes. But admit hee had that authority, was there therefore any reaſon that hee ſhould for crying in the night, *There is a God, a Pope, & a King of Caſtile who is Lord of theſe Countries*, murder 12.15. or 20. millions of poore reaſonable creatures, created (as our ſelues) after the image of the liuing God? Heere doe I, as in the beginning I ſaid, ſee a bottomleſſe depth of Gods iudgements. For it is a ſmall matter to ſay that the wicked doe moleſt better men then themſelues, for the cauſes aforeſaide: but to ſee a whole nation, yea, infinite nations periſh ſo miſerablie, and as it ſemeth, without any cauſe, is it that maketh moſt men to wander, yea euen aſtoniſheth ſuch as do examine theſe effects by the rule of their owne reaſons. Howebeit we haue two examples in the Bible, though not altogether like, yet very neere. It is ſaide in the ouerthrowe of Sehon: *In thoſe dayes wee tooke all his townes, and deſtroyed men women and childen in the ſame, neither left we any thing remaining*. The like ſentence is there alſo of *Og* king of *Baſan*, yea, Moſes ſone after alloweth all that was done, commaundeth *Ioſua* to doe as much to all the other kinges in his iourney as was done to thoſe two. If wee ſeeke the cauſe of ſuch executions, man will bee as it were at his wits ende and ſtande mute. Againe, if men ſhould conſider the example of king Saule whom God reiected, becauſe he did not wholy diſcomfit *Amelec*, but ſaued their king, and reſerued the fatteſt of their cattell for the ſacrifices, their vnderſtanding woulde giue ſentence cleane

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contrarie to gods. What will they say, was it not a comendable, yea, a noble minde, for a king to spare his brother, either for an Israelite to spare the cattell to the ende to sacrifice them to the God of Israel: yet was Gods sentence pronounced by *Samuel* cleane repugnant thereto, God *loueth obedience better then sacrifice*. And not long before God had commaunded both, namely, that the Cananites and Amalekites shoulde bee rooted out: and therefore hee was to bee obeyed, and for their disobedience the Cananites remained thornes in the eyes of Israel, and the king of *Amalec* whome *Samuel* neuertheleſſe hewed in peeces, was the ſubuerſion of Saule and his royall familie. But here may expreſſe reaſons be alleadged for ſuch iudgements of God, which ſeeming ſeuere to man are neuertheleſſe, in that they proceeded from God, meere iuſtice. Moſes ſaith, when the Lord thy God hath reiected them before thy face, think not in thine hearte, ſaying: The Lorde for my righteouſneſſe hath cauſed mee to enter poſſeſſion of this lande, ſeeing hee hath for their wickedneſſe rooted out theſe nations before thy face. For thou art not through thy righteouſnes and vprightneſſe of heart come to inherite their land, but it is for the abhominatiõs of theſe people, whom the Lord thy god hath expelled before thy face.

True it is, that as in a cleeare ſunnie light we may more eaſily diſcerne all that is obiect to our ſight, euen ſo of things conteined in the holy Scriptures commonly the cauſes are to bee founde: but for other matters, as the deſtruction of diuers nations among the Heathen: and finally for this ſo cruell and horrible example, conteined in this booke, there can bee alleadged no particuler reaſon, other then that gods iudgements are bottoleſſe pits: alſo that ſith he hath done it, it is iuſtly done. And yet are not the Spaniardes beeing the executors of this vengeance, more excuſable then *Pilate* for condẽning our ſauiour, or *Annas* or *Caiphas* for procuring his death notwithſtanding gods counſaile and hand wrought thoſe things. For behold gods ſentence pronounced againſt the wicked, whom he vſeth in chaſtening the good, whom by thoſe meanes he doth trie, and puniſheth the wicked according to their deſarts:

Oh Asshur, the rod of my wrath: and the staffe in their hands is my indignation. I will sende him to a dissembling nation, & I wil giue him a charge against the people of my wrath, to take the spoyle, and to take the pray, & to treade them vnder foote like the mire in the streete. But he thinketh not so, neither doth his heart esteeme it so, but he imagineth to destroy and to cut off not a few nations. For he saith, Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Charchemish? Is not Hamath like Arpad? Is not Samaria as Damascus? Like as my hande hath found the kingdomes of Idols, seeing their idols were aboue Ierusalem & aboue Samaria: Shall not I, as I haue done to Samaria and to the Idols thereof, so do to Hierusalē & to the idols thereof? But when the Lord hath accōplished al his worke vpō mount Siō & Ierusalē, I wil visit the frute of the pronde hart of the K. of Asshur, & his glorious & proud lookes, because he said, by the power of my own hand haue I done it, & by my wisdom, because I am wise. Therfore I haue remoued the borders of the people, & haue spoiled their treasures, and haue pulled downe the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand hath found as a nest, &c. So that although the wicked for a time doe triumph, yet doth not God leaue their abhominable cruelties vnpunished. But Gods iudgements being in the meane time such, that by the wicked he punisheth those that be wicked: notwithstanding their wickednes be somewhat lesse, as also the good bee chastised by the cruell and bloodthirstie: it is certaine that wee are not thereby to iudge that our selues shall haue the victorie ouer our enemies, because our cause is the better, for we are repleniſhed with vice enough, whereby to leaue vnto god sufficient matter to punishe vs: And therefore as I saide two thinges mee thought, and yet mee seemeth in these Countries worthie admiration: One is, that wee trusting that the defence of our libertie is vnto vs a iuste occasion doe not in the meane time consider that wee commit no lesse faults, then those which Ezech. cast in the Sodomites teeth, Beholde the iniquitie of thy sister Sodom was pride, fulnesse of bread, and the ease of Idlenes: these were in her & in her daugh-

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ters: as the [illegible] as if we had made attonement with death, we feare not gods indignation. If we looke vpon the [illegible] may see a great abuse in gods seruice: but so far are we from indeuoring to correct it, that contrariwise some would that the remembrance of God, at the least for this time, might be buried in oblivion: therein resembling the [illegible] opinion, or the children which would that during their infancy there might grow no twiggie in the woods: Churches [illegible] reformed, being neuer the lesse [illegible] but in mouth only. For the wine and the harpe as the prophet Isiah, are as common in their bankets as afore time: neither are they sory for the contrition of Ioseph. The [illegible] manner euery man generally hath an eye to his owne priuate affaires, he mourneth with the penitent, whilst he bee so reprooue, but not to helpe himself possesseth many of their hearts: and which is more strange, although there hope many in their Countries that haue prefore seene the manifest iniuries of the Spaniards, yet as if their enemy wholy failed them, he be ready to compound with vs as they suppose, to the destruction of their confederates, but in such sort as to procure all subiection of the whole countrie. To the end therefore they may at the least be in a stable behold the nature of their enimie, his purpose & intent here ensueth a true history written by one of their owne nation, wherein they may learne not that which is yet fully executed in these low countries, but which (had we not stopped their rounds) they had long since put in execution: and hereby I hope all gentlemen will [illegible] to be resolute, and according [illegible] and loyall vnto their soueraigne, not in words only, but in deedes also, to repell so arrogant and intolerable an enemie. But there needeth no other admonition then the same which the author hath set downe, and therefore I pray you couple him as diligently as he deserueth, beeing an author [illegible] graue and worthy [illegible] pose himselfe to his owne so cruell and barbarous nation: and let vs render thanks to god for sending vs so good maisters to instructe vs in our dueties in this so miserable and wretched time, in hope that we not quailing in our office, he will also finally graunt vs happie deliuerance.

The Argument of this present Summarie.

THe state of things happened in the Indies, ... euer from the time they were most wonderfully discouered, also since the Spaniards ... for a while began to inhabite those places, ... and afterward more sufficiently vnto these daies, ... haue in all degrees bin so many vnlooked & incredible vnto such as haue not seene them, that they may seeme sufficient to darken and burie in oblivion and silence whatsoeuer els haue passed in all former ages throughout the world, howe great soeuer it hath been, amongst which the slaughters and murders of these innocent people, together with the spoiles of townes, prouinces, & kingdomes, which in those parts haue bin perpetrated, as also diuers others no lesse terrible matters are not the least. These things whē *Don Bartholomew de las Casas*, being made of a monke a bishop at his comming to the court, thet to enforme our L. & M. the Emperor, as hauing bin an eie witnes of the same, had rehearsed to sundry persons, who as yet were ignorant therof; & thereby hauing driuen the hearers into a kind of extasie & maze, he was importunately requested briefly to set down in writing some of them, namely of last, which he did. But afterward seeing sundry persons who deuoyd of remorse and compassion, being through auarice & ambition, degenerate frō all humanitie, and who by their execrable deedes were grown into a reprobate sence, not being satisfied with such felonies & mischiefs as they had committed in destroying such a part of ꝑ worldby all strange kinds of cruelties, were now again importunate to oppose the King, so the ende vnder his authoritie ... himselfe to his owne lo cruell and barbarous nation: and ... let vs render thanks to god for rending vs to good maisters to ... instructeus in our duties in this so miserable and wretched ... time, in hope that we not quailing in our office, he will also deliuer vs by some vs happie deliuerance.

The Argument.

and consent, they might once more retourne to commit the like, or worse, if worse might be, he determined to exhibite the saide Summarie which he had in writing addressed vnto our Lorde the prince, to the ende his highnesse might finde meanes that they shoulde be denied, which he thought best to put in print, to the ende, his highnesse might with more ease reade the same. This

therefore was the cause of this present Summarie, or briefe information.

The Prologue of the Bishop, Frier Bartholomewe de las Casas or Casaus, to the most high and mightie prince, Our Lord Don Philip Prince of Spaine.

MOst high and mightie Lorde, as god by his prouidence hath for the guiding and commoditie of mankinde in this world, ordained Realmes and Prouinces, appointed kings to bee as fathers, and as Homer nameth them shepheardes, and so consequently the most noble & principall mẽbers of cõmon weales: so can we not iustly doubt by reason of the good willes that kings and princes haue to minister iustice, but that if there be any thinges amisse, either any violences or iniuries committed, the only cause that they are not redressed, is, for þ princes haue no notice of the same. For certainely if they knew of them, they would imploy all diligence and indeuour in the remedie thereof. Whereof it seemeth that mention is made in the holy Scripture in the Prouerbes of Salomon, where it is said, *Rex qui sedet in solio Iudicii dissipat omne malum intuitu suo.* For it is sufficiently to be presupposed euen of the kindly and natural vertue of a king, that the only notice that he taketh of any mischiefe tormenting his kingdome, is sufficient to procure him, if it bee possible, to roote out the same as being a thing that hee cannot tollerate euen one only moment of time.

Considering therefore with my selfe most mighty

tie Lord the great mischiefes, damnages and losses, (the like whereof it is not to be thought, were euer cõmitted by mankind) of so large and great kingdoms, or to speake more truely, of this so large new world of the Indies, which God and holy Churche haue cõmitted & cõmẽded vnto the K. of castile, to the end they might gouern, cõuert, & procure their prosperitie as well temporally as spiritually. Therefore (I say) being a man of experience, and fiftie yeeres of age or more, considering these euils, as hauing seene them committed, at my being in those countreys. Also that your highnes hauing information of some notable particularities, might be mooued most earnestly to desire his Maiestie, not to graunt or permit to those tyrannes such conquestes as they haue found out, and which they do so name, (whereunto if they might be suffered they would returne) seeing that of themselues, & being made against this Indian, peaceable, lowly & milde nation which offendeth none, they be wicked, tyrannous, and by all lawes either naturall, humaine or diuine, vtterly condemned, detested and accursed: I thought it best, least my selfe might become also guiltie, by concealing the losse of an infinite number both of soules & bodies whiche are so cõmitted, to cause a few of their dealinges which of late I had selected, frõ amõg infinit others, and that might truely bee reported to bee printed, to the ende your highnes might with more ease peruse and reade them ouer. Also whereas your highnes maister the Archbishop of Toleto, when hee was bishop of Carthagena required them at my handes, and then presented them to your highnes peraduen-

ture by reason of such great voiages as your highnes tooke vpon you, both by sea and by land for matters of estate wherein you haue bin busied, it may be you haue not perused, either haue forgotten them, and in the meane time the rash and disordinate desire of those which thinke it nothing to do wrong, to shed such aboundance of mans blood, to make desolate these so large countries of their naturall inhabitants and owners, by slaying infinite persons, either to purloyne such incredible treasures, doe dayly augment, these tyraunts proceeding vnder all counterfet titles and colours in their instante and importunate sute, namely, to haue the said cõquests permitted and graunted vnto them: Which in truth cannot be graunted without transgressing the lawe both of nature and of God, and so consequently not without incurring mortall sinne, worthie most terrible and euerlasting torments: I thought it expedient to doe your highnesse seruice in this briefe Summarie of a most large historie, that might and ought to bee written of such slaughters and spoyles as they haue made and perpetrated. Which I beseeche your highnesse to receiue and reade ouer, with that royall clemencie and courtesie, wherewith you vse to accept and peruse the workes of such your seruants, as no other desire, but faithfully to employ themselues to the common cõmoditie, and to procure the prosperitie of the royall estate.

This Summarie beeing perused, and the vildenes of the iniquity committed against these poore innocent people, in that they are slaine and hewed in peeces without desart, only through the auarice and

ambition of thoſe that pretend to the doing of ſuch execrable deedes, being conſidered, It may pleaſe your highneſſe to deſire, and effectually to perſuade his Maieſtie to denie any whoſoeuer ſhall demaund or require ſo hurtfull and deteſtable enterpriſes: yea, euen to bury any ſuche ſuite or petition in the infernall pit of perpetuall ſilence, thereby ſhewing ſuche terror & diſlike as hereafter no man may be ſo bold, as once to name or ſpeake thereof. And this (moſt mightie Lord) is very expediēt & neceſſarie, to the ende God may proſper, preſerue and make the eſtate of the royall crowne of Caſtile for euer to floriſhe both ſpiritually and temporally.

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exectable deedes, being condiered. It may plaie
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A briefe Narration of the deſtruction of the Indes, by the Spanyardes.

THe Indes were diſcouered the yeere one thouſande, foure hundred, nyntie two, and inhabited by the Spaniſh the yeere next after enſuing: ſo as it is about fourtie nine yeeres ſithens that the Spaniards ſome of them wēt into thoſe partes. And the firſt land that they entered to inhabite, was the great and moſt fertile Iſle of Hiſpeniola, which contayneth ſixe hundreth leagues in compaſſe. There are other great and infinite Iles rounde about and in the confines on all ſides: which wee haue ſeen the moſt peopled, and the fulleſt of their owne native people, as any other countrey in the woꝛlde may be. The firme lande lying off from this Iſlande two hundreth and fifte leagues, and ſomewhat ouer at the moſt, contayneth in length on the ſeacoaſt moꝛe then tenne thouſande leagues: which are alreadie diſcouered, and dayly be diſcouered moꝛe and moꝛe, all full of people, as an Emmots hill of Emmots. Inſomuch, as by that which ſince vnto the yere the fourtieth and one hath beene diſcouered: It ſeemeth that God hath beſtowed in that ſame countrey, the gulphe of the greateſt portion of mankinde.

GOD created all theſe innumerable multitudes in euery ſoꝛte, very ſimple, without ſutteltie, oꝛ craft, without malice, very obedient, and very faithfull to their naturall liege Lordes, and to the Spaniardes, whom they ſerue, very humble, very patient, very deſirous of peace making, and peacefull, without hatwiles and ſtruglings, without quarrelles, without ſtrife, without rancour oꝛ hatred, by no meanes deſirous of reuengement.

They are alſo people very gentle, and very tender, and of an eaſie complexion, and which can ſuffeyne no trouble, and dye

very soone of any disease whatsoeuer, in such sorte as the very children of Princes and Noble men brought vp amongst vs, in all commodities, ease, and delicatenesse, are not more soft then those of that countrey: yea, although they bee the children of labourers. They are also very poore folke, which possesse litle, neither yet do so much as desire to haue much worldly goodes, & therefore neither are they proud, ambitious, nor couetous. Their diet is such (as it seemeth) by of the holy fathers in the desert hath not been more scarse, nor more streight, nor lesse daintie, nor lesse sumptuous. Their appareling is commonly to goe naked: all saue their shamefast partes alone couered. And when they be clothed, at the most, it is but of a mantell of bombacte of an elle and a halfe, or a two elles of linnen square. Their lodging is vpon a matte, and those which haue the best: sleepe as it were vppon a net fastened at the foure corners, which they call in the language of the Ile of Hispaniola, Hamasas. They haue their vnderstanding very pure and quicke, being teachable and capable of all good learning, verye apt to receiue our holy Catholique faith, and to be instructed in good and vertuous maners, hauing lesse encombrances and disturbances to the atteyning thereunto, then al the folke of the world besids, and are so enflamed, ardent, and importune to knowe and vnderstand the matters of the faith after they haue but begunne once to taste them, as likewise the exercise of the Sacraments of the Church, & the diuine seruice: that in truth, the religious men haue need of a singuler patience to support them. And to make an ende, I haue heard many Spaniardes many times holde this as assured, and that whiche they could not deny, concerning the good nature which they sawe in them. Undoubtedly these folkes shoulde be the happiest in the worlde, if onely they knewe God.

Upon these lambes so mecke, so qualified & endewed of their maker and creator, as hath bin said, entred the Spanish incontinent as they knewe them, as wolues, as lions, & as tigres most cruel of long time famished: and haue not done in those quarters these 40. yeres be past, neither yet doe at this present, ought els saue teare them in peeces, kill them, martyre them, afflict them, torment them, & destroy them by straunge sortes of cruelties ne-

ues

ver neither seene, nor reade, nor hearde of the like: (of the which some shall bee set downe hereafter) so farre forth that of aboue three Millions of soules that were in the Ile of Hispaniola, and that we haue seene, there are not nowe two hundreth natiues of the countrey. The Ile of Cuba, the which is in length as farre as frõ Vallodolyd until Rome, is at this day as it were al wast. S. Johns ile, and that of Iamayca both of them very great, very fertil, and very fayre: are desolate. Likewise the iles of Lucayos, neere to the ile of Hispaniola, and of the north side vnto that of Cuba, in number being aboue threescore Ilandes, together with those which they cal the iles of Geante, one with another, great and litle, whereof the very wurst is fertiler then the kings gardẽ at Seuill, and the countrey the healthsomest in the world: there were in these same iles more then fiue hundreth thousand soules, and at this day there is not one only creature. For they haue bin all of them slayne, after that they had drawen thẽ out from thence to labour in their minerals in the ile of Hispaniola, where there were no more left of the inbornes natiues of that iland. A ship riding for the space of three yeeres betwixt all these ilands, to the ende, after the inning of this kinde of vintage, to gleane and cull the remainder of these folke (for there was a good Christian moued with pitie and compassion, to conuert & win vnto Christ such as might be found) there were not found but eleuẽ persons whiche I saw: other iles more then thirtie nere to the ile of S. John haue likewise bin dispeopled and marred. All these iles contayn aboue two thousand leagues of lande, and are all dispeopled and laide waste.

As touching the maine firme lande, wee are certaine that our Spaniardes, by their cruelties & cursed doings haue dispeopled & made desolate more then ten realmes greater then all Spaine, compising also therewith Aragon and Portugall, and twise as much or more land then there is from Seuill to Jerusalem whiche are aboue a thousand leagues: whiche realmes as yet vnto this present day remaine in a wildernes and vtter desolation, hauing bin before time as well peopled as was possible.

Wee are able to yeeld a good and certaine accompt, that there is vnto the space of the said 40. yeeres, by those said tyrannies & diuilish

voiages al the Spaniards vnto this day vniuersally and tyrannously more then twelue Millions of soules, men, women, and children. And I verilie do beleeue, and thinke not to mistake therein, that there are dead more then fifteene Millions of soules.

Those whiche haue got them out of Spaine into that countrey, beating them selues as Christians, haue kept two generall and principall wayes to eradicate and abolishe from off the face of the earth those miserable nations. The one is their vniust, cruell, bloodie and tyrannicall warre. That other maner is, that they haue slayne all those which coulde any kinde of wayes so muche as gaspe, breath, or thinke to set them selues at libertie, or but to withdraw them selues from the tormentes whiche they endure, as are all the naturall Lordes, and the men of valour and courage. For commonly they suffer not in the warres to liue any, saue children and women: applying also afterwardes those very same with the most cruel, dreadful, and hainous thraldome that euer hath been layde vpon men or beastes. Vnto these two kindes of tyrannie diabolicall, may be reduced and sorted as it were the illues one vnder another to their head, all other their diuerse and infinite maners of dooing which they keept to lay desolate, and roote out those folke without number.

The cause why the Spanishe haue destroyed suche an infinite of soules, hath been onely, that they haue holde it for their last scope and marke to gette golde, and to enriche them selues in a short tyme, and to mount at one leape to very high estates, in no wise agreeable to their persons: or, for to say in a word, the cause hereof hath been their auarice and ambition, whiche hath sealed them the greedingest in the worlde in consideration of those landes so happie and riche, and the people so humble, so patient, and so easie to be subdued. Whom they haue neuer had any respect, or made any more accompt of (I speake the trueth of that whiche I haue seene all the tyme that I was there conuersant) I say not then of beastes (for woulde to GOD that they had entreated and esteemed them but as beastes:) but lesse then of the myre of the streetes, and euen as muche care is it that they haue had of their liues and of their soules. And by this meanes haue they so many Millions without faith and without sacramentes.

At

It is a certaine veritie, and that which also the tyrants them selues knowe right well and confesse, that the Indians throughout all the Indies neuer wrought any displeasure vnto the Spaniardes: but rather that they reputed them as come from heauen, vntill such tyme as they, or their neighbours had receiued the first iniurie wronges, being robbed, killed, forced, and tormented by them.

Of the Ile of hispaniola.

IN the Ile Hispaniola, which was the first (as we haue said) where the Spaniardes arriued, began the great slaughters and spoyles of people: the Spaniardes hauing begunne to take their wiues and children of the Indies, for to serue their turne and to vse them ill, and hauing begunne to eate their victualles, gotten by their sweate and trauell: not contenting themselues with that which the Indians gaue them of their owne good will, euery one after their habilitie, the which is algates very small, forasmuch as they are accustomed to haue no more store, then they haue ordinarily neede of, and that such as they get with litle trauell: And that which might suffice for three households, reconing tenne persons for eche household for a moneths space, one Spaniarde would eate and destroy in a day.

Nowe after sundry other forces, violences, and tormentes, which they wrought against them: the Indians began to perceiue, that those were not men discended from heauen. Some of them therefore hid their victuals: others hid their wiues and children: some others fledde into the mountaynes, to separate them selues a farre off from a nation of so harde natured and ghastly conuersation. The Spaniardes buffeted them with their fistes and bastonades: pressing also to lay handes vpon the Lordes of the Townes. And these rages ruled in so great an hazarde and desperatenes, that a Spanishe Captaine durst aduenture to rauish forcibly the wife of the greatest king and Lord of this Ile. Since whiche tyme the Indians began to seeke meanes to cast the Spaniardes out of their landes, and set them selues

selues in armes: but what kind of armes? very feeble and weake to withstand or resist, and of lesse defence (wherfore all their warres are no more warres then the playings of children, when as they play at Jogo di Canne or Reedes.) The Spaniardes with their Horses, their speares and launces, beganne to commit murders, and straunge cruelties: they entred into Townes, Boroughes, and Villages, sparing neyther children, nor old men, neither women with childe, neyther them that lay In, but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in pieces, as if they had been opening of Lambes shut vp in their folde. They layed wagers with such as with one thrust of a sworde woulde paunche or bowell a man in the middest, or with one blowe of a sworde woulde most readily and most deliuerly cut off his head, or that woulde best pearce his entrails at one stroke. They tooke the little soules by the heeles, ramping them from the mothers dugges, and crushed their heades against the cliftes. Others they cast into the riuers laughing and mocking, and when they tombled into the water, they sayde, nowe shift for thy selfe such a ones coppes. They put others, together with their mothers and all that they met, to the edge of the sworde. They made certayne Gibbets long and low, in such sort, that the feete of the hanged on, touched in a maner the ground, euery one enough for thirteene, in the honour and worship of our Sauiour and his twelue Apostles (as they vsed to speake) and setting to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Unto all others, whom they vsed to take and reserue a-liue, cutting off their two handes as neere as might bee, and so letting them hang, they sayd: Get you with these letters, to carry tydinges to those which are fled by the mountaines. They murdered commonly the Lordes and nobilitie on this fashion: They made certayne graces of perches layed on pickforkes, and made a litle fire vnderneath, to the intent, that by litle and litle yelling and despeiring in these tormentes, they might giue vp the ghost.

One time I sawe foure or fiue of the principall Lordes roasted and broyled vppon these gradeirons. Also I thinke that there were two or three of these gredirons, garnished with the lyke furniture, and for that they cryed out

piti,

pitiouſly, which thing troubled the Captayne that hee could not then ſleepe: hee commaunded to ſtrangle them. The Sergeant, which was worſe then the hangman that burned them (I knowe his name and friendes in Seuill) would not haue them ſtrangled, but him ſelfe putting boulets in their mouthes, to the end they ſhould not crie, put to the fire, vntil they were ſoftly roſted after his deſire. I haue ſeene all the aforeſayd things and others infinite. And foraſmuch, as all the people which could flee, hid themſelues in the mountaynes, and mounted on the toppes of them, fled from the men ſo without all manhood, emptie of all pitie, behauing them as ſauage beaſtes, the ſlaughterers and deadly enemies of mankinde: they taught their hounds, fierce dogs, to teare them in peeces at the firſt viewe, and in the ſpace that one might ſay a Credo, aſſayled and deuoured an Indian as if it had been a ſwine. Theſe dogges wrought great deſtructions and ſlaughters. And foraſmuche as ſometimes, although ſeldom, when the indians put to death ſome Spaniards vpon good right and lawe of due Juſtice: they made a Lawe betweene them, that for one Spaniarde, they had to ſlay an hundreth Indians.

The realmes which were in this Ile of Hiſpaniola.

There were in this Ile Hiſpaniola, fiue greate principall realmes, and fiue very mightie Kinges, vnto whome almoſt all the other Lordes obeyed, whiche were without number. There were alſo certaine Lordes of other ſeuerall Prouinces, which did not acknowledge for ſoueraigne any of theſe Kinges: One realme was named Magua, which is as much to ſay, as the kingdome of the playne. This plaine is one of the moſt famous and moſt admirable thinges of all that is in the worlde. For it contayneth foureſcore leagues of grounde, from the South ſea vnto the North ſea: hauing in breadth fiue leagues, and eight vnto tenne.

It hath in one syde and other exceeding high mountaynes. There entreth into it above thirtie thousande riuers and lakes, of the which twelue are as great as Ebro, and Duero, and Guadalquiuir. And all the riuers which issue out of a Mountayne which is towardes the West, in number about fiue and twentie thousande, are very rich of golde. In the which mountayne or mountaynes, is contayned the prouince of Cibao, from whence the mines of Cibao take their names, and from whence commeth the same exquisite golde and fine of 24. karrets, which is so renowmed in these partes. The King and Lorde of this realme was called Guarionex, which had vnder him his Vassals and Lieges so great and mightie, that euery one of them was able to set forth threescore thousande men of armes for the seruice of the king Guarionex. Of the which Lordes I haue knowen some certayne. This Guarionex was very obedient and vertuous, naturally desirous of peace, and well affectioned to the deuotion of the kings of Castile, and his people gaue by his commaundement, euery housekeeper a certayne kinde of Dramme full of golde: but afterwardes being not able to fill the Dramme cutte it off by the middest, and gaue the halfe thereof full. For the Indians of that Ile had litle or none industrie or practise to gather, or drawe golde out of the mines. This Caceque presented vnto the king of Castile his seruice, in causing to be manured all the landes from the Isabella, where the Spanish first fired, vnto the Towne of Saint Domingo, which are fiftie leagues large, on condition that hee shoulde exact of them no golde: for he sayd, (and hee sayde the trueth) that his subiectes had not the skill to drawe it out. As for the manuring which he sayde hee woulde procure to bee done: I knowe that hee coulde haue done it very easely, and with great readinesse, and that it woulde haue been worth vnto the king euery yeere more then three Millions of Castillans, besides that it would haue caused, that, at this houre there had bin above fiftie Cities greater then Seuille.

The payment that they made to this good king and Lord, so gracious and so redowbted, was to dishonour him in the person of his wife, an vnchristian, a Captayne ravishing her. This king coulde haue attended the time and opportunitie to auenge

The thirde Realme

Alfter

those peoples, that they can not conueniently be numbred in writing (for I doe hardly beleeue that of a number of things to be spoken of, there can not be declared of a thousande parte one.) I will only in that which ensueth the warres aboue mentioned conclude, where and whether in conscience, and as before God, that of all others, which I ouerpasse to speake of, we shall bee able to speake of, the Indians neuer gaue no more occasion, or cause, then might a company of good religious persons well ordered, why they should be robbed and slayne, and why their soules that slewe the people, should be retayned in a perpetuall captiuitie and bondage.

I affirme yet moreouer, for ought that I can beleeue or coniecture, that, during all the time that all this huge number of these Illanders haue been murthered and put away vtterly, they neuer committed against the Spaniardes any one notable offence, punishable by the lawe of nature. And concerning offences, of the which the punishment is referred vnto God, as are desire of reuengement, hatred, and rancour, which these people might beare against enemies so capitall as were the Spaniardes, that very fewe persons haue been touched with the blemishe: and lesse violent and forcible do I finde them, by the good experience I haue of them, when seruing me diuers twelue yeeres of age. And I dare for certayne and infallible, that the Indians had neuerthelesse neuer iust cause of warre against the Spaniardes: but the Spaniardes neuer had any iust cause of warre against the Indians, but they were all manifestly the most iniurious, more then can bee spoken of any tyrant that is on the whole earth. Also I affirme the selfe same of all these other actes and gestes by them done and wrought all the Indies.

The warres accomplished, and all the men done to death thereby reserued commonly the young folke, women, and children, (the which they deuided among them, in giuing vnto one thirtie, to another fourtie, and to another an hundreth, or two hundreth according as euery one had the fauour of the head Tyrant, vpon whom they called the Gouernour) they gaue them vnto Spaniardes vpon that condition and colour, that they would teache them the Catholike faith, they themselues who tooke vppon them

them this charge of soules, cruelly all theirs, as bitterly ignorant of sinne, barbarous men, extreemely rooting and beastly. Whose life and care that these had of them, was to send the men into the mines, to make them dyein them out of hande, which is an intollerable trauell: and the women they best sorted into the countrey to their farmes, to manure and till the ground, which is a sore trauell, euen for the very men, the ablest and mightiest. They gaue to eate neither to one nor other, nought saue grasses and such like thinges of no substance? in such sorte as the milke of the breastes of the wines newe deliuered of their childbyrth dyed vpon: and thus dyed in a small season, all the litle creatures their young children. Further, by reason of the separation and not cohabiting of the men with their wiues, the generation ceased betweene them. The men died with toyle and famine in the mineralles: these the women died of the same in the fieldes. By these meanes were consumed and brought to their endes so huge a number of the folke of this Iland. By the like might be abolished and exterpate, all the inhabitantes of the worlde.

As touching loding, they layde vpon them fourescore or an hundreth poundes waighe, which they shoulde carrie an hundreth or two hundreth leagues: The Spanish also causing themselues to be carried in lytres vppon mens armes, or beddes made by the Indians, in fashion of nettes. For they serued their turnes with them to transporte their carriages and bagage as beastes, whereby they had vpon their backes & shoulders, mules and galleys as poope galleybeasts. Also as touching whippings, basteanadoing, buffeting, blowes with the fist, curfing, and a thousande other kindes of tormentes, which they practised vpon them during the time that they trauayled, of a truth, they can not be reconned in a long season, nor written in a great deale of paper, and they shoulde bee euen to astrighe men withall.

It is to be noted, that the destruction of these iles and lands, began after the decease of the most gracious Queene, vnto glorie, which was the yeere, a thousande, fiue hundreth, and foure. For before there were liued white in this ile, but certayne Spaniardes by vntrue bearing, and that not wholly alleag-

ther, for these for ỹ more part, wt is a maner al were rõ[illegible] fro
the knowledge of ỹ D. (vnto whõ it may please you rõ geue his
holy glory) so much as she had a great desire, ỹ a zeale admira-
ble, ỹ whole people might be saued & prosper, as we do know by ou
examples, che wh we haue seen wh our eies, & felt with our hands.
Further note here, ỹ in what part of ỹ Indies ỹ Spaniſhe haue
come, they haue euermore exercised against ỹ Indias, these inno-
cẽt peoples, ỹ cruelties afore said, & oppressiõs abominable, & in-
dured day by day in tormẽts, huger & monstrouser, becõming e-
uery day more cruel, wherfore god also gaue thẽ ouer to fal head-
long do wn with a more extreme downfal into a reprobate sense.

Of the two Iles S. Iohn and Iamayca.

The Spaniſh passed ouer to ỹ Ile of S. Iohn, & to ỹ of Ia
mayca (wh were like gardens for beas) 1509. setting before
thẽ ỹ same end which they had in the Ile Hispaniola, & commit-
ting the robberies & crimes afore said, adioyning thereunto many
great & notable cruelties, killing, burning, rosting & casting thẽ
to ỹ dogs: furthermore, afterwards oppressing, & vexing them in
their minerals & other trauel, vnto ỹ rotting out of those poore in-
nocẽts wh were in these two Iles, by supputatiõ 6. C. M. soules:
yea I beleue, ỹ they were more thẽ a milliõ, although there be not
at this day in either Ile, 200. persons, and all perished without
faith and without Sacramentes.

Of the Ile of Cuba.

In the yere. 1511. they passed to ỹ Ile of Cuba, which is (as I
haue said) as long as there is vnto Valladolid to Rome,
(where there were great ỹ nõbers & great multitudes of people,)
they haue begũ & prosecuted thẽ after ỹ same sorte, shewing cru-
elties far more cruelly, if her cannot be [illegible] Ilãd, mat-
ter through ỹ incitings of Diego Velasquez, named Hasbeay, which had con-
ueyed himselfe fro ỹ Ile Hispaniola to Cuba, & many of his peo-
ple, to auoid the calamities & miseries so vnnatural of ỹ Spaniſh:
when as certain Christians had told him things of the Spaniards
where (hauing vnderstood of the Cubanes, of the shame-
ful: also ye vnderstand that the Spaniards entring into this Ile
ye knowne all of the experience, how they haue serued such a
such the people of them (meaning the Ilanders) whether
they come to do ỹ like here, & not ye why they do it: they answe,

reuenge, vnles it shee, y they are by nature cruell & inhumane. De
gested. They do it not onely for y loue they beare to
whom they hope to do seruice, but also for y ende y they may
vs as wel as others to honor him shall they do their vttermost to
fyl our vessels with gold & Iewels, &
said, Behold here the Gods of the Spaniards, do as they bid him, if
it displease you not, Cacios, (which are his vassals & bondmen)
thus doing we shall please him, & he will command y Spaniards
y they shal do vs no harme. They answered all with a loud voyce
Wel said sir, wel said. Thus then they passed before it, & when they
were very, thē quoth the L. Patuey, Take we heed how euer y
would go, if we keep him, to y ende y he be not taken away frō vs, in the
end they will kill vs: wherfore let vs cast him into y riuer. Whe-
vpon they all agreed, and so they cast it into a great riuer there.

This L. & Cacik were alwaies fleeing y Spanish incountring as
they were arriued at y Ile of Cuba, as he himself hath bin wel
& deceiued himself, whē as he met the. In y end he was taken
ly for because that he fled frō a nation so vniust & cruel, & that he
defended himself frō such as would kil him, & oppresse him euen
vnto y death. With all his folk, he was burned aliue. Now as he was
fastned to the stake, a religious mā of S. Frācis order, a deuout
person, spake to him cōcerning of God & of our faith, which things
this said L. had neuer heard of, yet might be sufficient for the time
which y butchers gaue him, that if he would beleue those things
which were spoke vnto him, he should go to heauen, where is glory
& rest euerlasting, y if he did not beleue, he should go to hell, there
to be tormented perpetually. The L. after hauing a little paused to
thinke of y matter, demanded of the religious man, whether y the
Spaniards went to heauen? who answered, yea: such of them that
were good. The Cacik answered againe immediatly, (vsing any
further deliberation) that he would not go to heauen, but that he
would go to hell, to the ende, not to come in the place where such
people should be, and to the end not to see a nation so cruell. Loe
here the praises and honour, which God and our faith haue receiued
of the Spaniardes, which haue gone to the Indes.

One tyme the Indians came to meete vs, and to
receiue vs with victualles, and delicate cheere, with all

all entertayninge ten leagues of a great city, and beeing come at the place, they presented vs with a great quantitie of fishe, and of bread, and other meate, together with all that they could doe for vs to the vttermost.

Shee incontinent the vnell, whiche put him selfe into the Spaniardes, to put them all to the edge of the sworde in my presence, without any cause whatsoeuer, made them slee thirtie thousande soules, which were set before vs, men, women, and children. I saw there so great cruelties, that neuer any man liuing eyther haue or shall see the like.

Another time, but a fewe dayes after the premisses, I sente messengers vnto all the Lordes of the prouince of Hauana, assuring them, that they should not needs to feare (for they had heard of my trouble) and that without withdrawing themselues, they should come to receiue vs, and that there should bee done vnto them no displeasure: for all the countrey was afraide, by reason of the mischieues and murderings passed, and this did I by the aduice of the Captayne him selfe. After that wee were come into the prouince, out and foorthe Lordes and Caciques came to receiue vs, whome the Captayne apprehended incontinent, breaking the safe conduite which I had made them, and intended the day next following to burne them aliue, saying that it was expedient so to doe, for that otherwise those Lordes one day, would doe vs a shrewde turne. I founde mee selfe in a great doale of trouble to saue them from the fire: howbeit in the ende they escaped.

After that the Indians of this Iland were thus brought into bondage and subiection, like vnto those of the Ile of Hispaniola, and that they saw that they died and perished all without remedie: some of them began to flie into the mountaynes, others quite desperate hanged them selues, and there hung together husbandes with their wiues, hanging with them their little children. And through the cruelltie of one onely Spaniarde, who was a great tyrante, and one whom I knowe, there hange them selues more then two hundred Indians: and in this fashion died an infinite of people.

There was in this Ile an officer of the Kinges, to whome they

they gaue for his share three hundred Indians, of whome at the ende of three monethes there died by him in the trauayle of the mynes, two hundred and sixtie: in suche sorte, that there remained nowe but thirtie, which was the tenth part. Afterwardes they gaue him as many more, and more, and those also he made hauocke of in like maner, and still as many as they gaue him, so many hee slewe vntill hee dyed him selfe, and that the diuell carried him away.

In three or foure monethes (mee selfe beeing present) there died more then sixe thousande children, by reason that they had plucked away from them their fathers and mothers whiche they sent into the mines. I behelde also other things frightfull.

Shortly after they resolued to climbe after those whiche were in the mountaynes, where they wrought also ghastly slaughters, and thus lande waste all this Ile: which wee behelde not long after, and it is great pitie to see it so dispeopled and desolate as it is.

Of the firme lande.

IN the yeere one thousand, fiue hundred, and foureteene, there landed in the maine a mischeuous gouernour, a most cruell tyraunt, which had neyther pitie nor prudencie in him, being as an instrumēt of the wrath of God, fully resolued to set into this land a great nūber of Spaniards. And howbeit ỳ aforetime certayne other tyraunts had entred the lande, and had spoyled, murdered, and cruelly entreated very many folke: yet was it not but on the sea coast that they spoyled, and robbed, and did the most that they could. But this surpassed all the others whiche came before him, and all those of all the Ilandes, howe cursed and abhominable soeuer they were in all their doings. He not onely wasted or dispeopled the sea coast, but sacked also great realmes and countreys, making hauockes by slaying and murdering of peoples, infinite to bee numbred, and sending them to hell. He ouerranne and herried most of the places in the land, from Darien vpwarde, vnto the Realme and Prouinces of Nicaragua

caragua within being, which are more then fiue hundred leagues of the beſt and moſt fertile grounde in the whole worlde, where there were a good number of great Lordes, with a number of townes, boroughes, and villages, and ſtore of gold in more abundaunce then was to bee founde on the earth vntyll that preſent. For albeit that Spaine was as it were replenished with gold, of the fineſt that came from the Ile Hiſpaniola: the ſame had been only drawen out of the entrals of the earth by the Indians, of ỹ mines, aforeſaid, wher they died as hath been ſayde.

This gouernour with his men, found out newe ſorts of cruelties and torments, to cauſe them to diſcouer and giue him golde. There was a captayne of his, which flue in one walke and courſe which was made by his commaundement, to robbe and roote out more then fourtie thouſand ſoules, putting them to ỹ edge of the ſworde, burning thē, & giuing thē to ỹ dogs, & tormēting them diuerſly: wt alſo a religious man of the order of S. Francis, who went wt him, beheld wt his eies, and had to name frier Francis of S. Romaine.

The moſt pernicious blindnes, wt hath alwaies poſſeſſed thoſe who haue gouerned the Indians in ſtead of the care wt they ſhold haue for the conuerſion & ſaluation of thoſe people, (wt they haue alwaies neglected, their mouth wt painted fables ſpeaking one thing, but their hart thinking another) came to ỹ paſſe, as to cōmand orders to be ſet down vnto ỹ Indians to receiue the faith, & render thēſelues vnto ỹ obediēce of the K. of Caſtile, or otherwiſe to bid thē battel wt fire & ſworde, & to ſlay thē or make thē ſlaues: As if ỹ ſonne of God which died for euery one of thē had cōmanded in his law, wher he ſaith, Go teach al nations, ỹ there ſhould be ordināces ſet down vnto infidels, being peacefull & quiet, & in poſſeſſion of their proper lande, if ſo be they receiued it not forth with, wout any preaching or teaching firſt had: & if ỹ they ſubmitted not thēſelues to ỹ dominiō of a king, whō they neuer ſawe & whom they neuer heard ſpeake of, & namely ſuch a one as whoſe meſſengers & mē were ſo cruel, & ſo debarred frō all pitie, & ſuch horrible tyrāts, ỹ they ſhould for ỹ loſe their goods & lands, their liberty, their wiues & childrē, wt their liues, all which is a thing too abſurd & fond, worthy of al reproch & mockery, yea worthy of hel fire, in ſuch ſort as whē this wicked and wretched gouernour had

accepted the charge, to put in execution the sayde ordinances, to the end to make them seeme ỹ more iust in appearance. For they were of thẽselues impertinent, against all reason & law, he commanded (or peraduenture ỹ thieues, whom he dispatched to doe ỹ executiõ, did it of their own heads) whẽ they were purposed to go a rouing & robbing of any place, where they knewe ỹ there was any gold, ỹ Indians being in their townes & dwelling houses, without mistrusting any thing, ỹ wicked Spaniards would go after ỹ guise of thieues, vnto within halfe a league neere some towne, borowe, or village, and there by themselues alone, & by night make a reading, publication, or proclamation of ỹ said ordinances, saying thus, Oyes Caciques & Indians of this firme land of such a place: Be it knowen vnto you, that there is one God, one Pope, one king of Castile, which is L. of these landes: make your appearance, al delay set aside, here to do him homage, &c. Which if you shall not accomplish: Be it knowen vnto you, ỹ we wil make war vpõ you, and we wil kil you, & make you slaues. Herevpon at the fourth watch in ỹ morning, the poore innocents, sleeping yet with their wiues and children: these tyrantes set vppon the place, casting fire on the houses which commonly were thatched, & so burn vp all quick men, womẽ & children, more cruelly thẽ that they could of a great many be perceiued. They massacred at the instant those that seemed thẽ good, & those whõ they took prisonners, they caused thẽ cruelly to die vpõ ỹ rack, to make thẽ to tell in what places there were any more golde thẽ they found by them: and others which remayned aliue, they made them slaues, marking them with a hot iron, so after the fire being out & quenched, they go seeke the golde in their houses. This is then the deportement in these affayres of this mischieuous person, with all the bond of his vngodly Christians, which hee trayned from the fourteenth yeere, vnto the one and twentie, or two and twentieth yeere, sending in these exploytes fiue or moe of his seruants or souldiers, by whom he receiued as many shares, ouer and besides his Captaynes Generalles part, which he leuied of all the golde, of all the pearles, and of all the iewels which they tooke of those whom they made their slaues. The selfsame did ỹ kings officers, euery one sending forth as many seruants as he could.

The Bysshoppe also, which was the chiefe in the Realme, hee sent his seruauntes to haue his share in the bootie: They spoyled more golde within the tyme, and in this realme, as farre foorth as I am able to recken, then woulde amount to a million of Ducates, yea, I beleeue, that I make my reckoning with the least. Yet will it bee founde, that of all this great thieuing, they neuer sent to the king ought saue three thousande Castillans, hauing there about killed and destroyed aboue eyght hundred thousande soules.

The other tyraunt gouernours which succeeded after, vnto the yeere thirtie and three, fiue, or at least wise consented, for all those which remayned to slay them in that tyrannicall slauerie.

Amongst an infinite sorte of mischieues, which this gouernoure did, or consented vnto the doing during the time of his gouernment, this was one: To witte, that a Cacike or Lorde giuing him, eyther of his good will, or whiche is rather to bee thought for feare, the weighe of nieue thousande Ducates: the Spaniardes not content withall, tooke the saide Lorde, and tyed him to a stake, setting him on the earth, his feete stretched vp, against the whych they set fire to cause him to giue thē some more golde. The Lorde sent to his house, whence there were brought yet moreouer three thousand Castillans. They goe a freshe to giue him newe tormentes. And when the Lorde gaue them no more, eyther because he had it not, or because hee woulde giue them no more, they bent his feete against the fyre, vntill that the very marrowe sprang out and trylled downe the sowles of his feete: so as hee therewith died. They haue oftentimes exercised these kinde of tormentes towardes the Lordes, to make them giue them golde, wherewith they haue also slayne them.

An other tyme, a certayne companie of Spaniardes, vsing their thefres and robberies, came to a mountayne, where were assembled and hid a number of people, hauing shunned those men so pernicious and horrible: whom incontinent entring vpon, they tooke a three or foure score, as well women as mayds, hauing killed as many as they could kill.

The morrowe after, there assembled a great companie of

Indi-

Indians, to pursue the Spaniardes, warring against them for the great desire they had to recouer their wiues and daughters.

The Spaniardes perceiuing the Indians to approche neere vpon them, would not forgo their pray, but staid their swords: thorowe the bellies of the wiues and wenches, leauing but one alone aliue of all the foure score. The Indians felt their hearts to burst for sorowe and griefe which they suffered, yelling out in cries and speaking suche woordes: O wicked men, O yee the cruell Spaniardes: woe yee kill Las Iras: They terme Iras in that countrey the women: as if they woulde say, To kyll women, those be actes of abhominable men, and cruell as beastes.

There was a tenne or fiftéene leagues from Joanama, a great Lorde named Paris, which was very riche of golde: The Spaniardes went thither, whome this Lorde receiued as if they had been his owne brethen, and made a present vnto the Captaine of fiftie thousand Castillans of his owne voluntarie accord. It seemed vnto the Captaine and the other Spaniardes, that he which gaue such a great summe of his owne will, shoulde haue a great treasure, which shoulde be the ende and easing of their trauayles. They make wise, and pretende in woordes to departe: but they returne at the fourth watch of the morning, setting vpon the towne which mistrusted nothing, set it on fire, whereby was burnt and slayne a great number of people, & by this meanes they brought away in the spoyle fiftie, or threescore thousand Castillans more.

The Cacik or Lorde escaped without being slayne or taken, and leuied incontinent as many of his as he could. And at the ende of three or foure dayes, ouertaketh the Spaniardes whiche had taken from him an hundreth and thirtie, or fourtie thousande Castillans, and set vppon them valiantly, killing fiftie Spaniardes, and recouering all the golde whiche they had taken from him. The others saued them selues by running away, beyng well charged with blowes and wounded.

Not long after, diuers of the Spanishe returne against the saide Cacik, and discomfite him with an infinite number of his people. Those which were not slayne, they put them to the ordinarie bondage: in such sort, as that there is not at this day, neyther

their crueltie vsed, that there hath bin slaine there either people, or so much as one man alone borne of woman within three score leagues of the same, which was before notably peopled and gouerned by diuers Lordes. There is no recording able to be made of the murders which this caitiffe with his companie committed in these realmes which he so dispeopled.

Of the prouince of Nicaragua.

THe yeere a thousande, fiue hundred, twentie and two, or twentie three, this tyraunt went farder into the lande: to bring vnder his yoke the most fertile prouince of Nicaragua, & so in thither he entred in an euill houre. There is no man which is able worthely and sufficiently to speake of the fertilitie, healthsomenesse, prosperitie, and frequencie, of those nations that there were.

It was a thing wonderfull to beholde, howe well it was peopled, hauing townes of three or foure leagues in length, full of marueilous fruites, which fruites were also the cause of the frequencie of the people. These people, for as muche as the countrey was flatte and leuell, hauing no hilles where any might hide them, and for that it was so pleasant and delectable, that the native inhabitauntes coulde not abandon it but with great heare griefe and difficultie, for which cause they the rather endured and suffered grieuous persecutions, supporting as muche as they coulde, the tyrannies and seruitudes, inflicted by the Spanishe. Also for that by their nature they were verye softe natured and peaceable people, these (I say) this tyraunt with his mates made to endure (that which hee had vsed also to doe to destroy likewise other realmes) so many dammages, so many murders, so many cruelties, so many slaueries and iniquities, that there is no humane tongue is able to discipher them. He sent fiftie horsemen, and caused to slay all the people of this prouince, (which is greater then the countrye of Rossilion) with the swoorde in such sort, as that he left aliue, nay man, nor woman, nor olde, nor

young for the least cause in the world: as if they came not incontinent at his commaunde: or if they did not bring him so many loade of Maiz, which signifieth in that countrey bread corne: or if they did not bring him so many Indians to serue him and others of his company: for the countrey lay leuell, as was sayde, and no creature coulde escape his horses and diuelishe rage.

He sent Spaniardes to make out rodes, that is to say, to go a thieuing into other prouinces and gaue leaue to those rouers, to carrie with them as many Indians of this peaceable people as they liked, and that they shoulde serue them, whome they put to the chayne, to the ende they shoulde not giue ouer the burdens of three or foure score poundes weight, wherewith they loded them, whereof it came to passe oftentimes that of foure thousand Indians, there returned not home to their houses fyue on liue: but euen fell downe starke dead in the high way: and when any were so wearie that they coulde march no farther for the least of their burdens, or that some of them fell sicke, or fainted for hunger or thyrst, because it should not neede to stande so long as to vnlocke the chaine, and to make the speedier dispatch, hee cut off the head from ỳ shoulders, and so the head tumbled downe one way, and the bodie another. Now consider with your selues, what the other poore soules might thinke the while. Certainely whē as he vsed to speede out such voiages, ỳ Indians knowing ỳ none in a maner euer returned home again, at parting one frō another they would weep and sigh, saying: such waies are ỳ same where as we were wont to serue ỳ christians, & howbeit we trauailed sore there: yet that notwithstanding we came home againe to our houses, our wiues and our children: but nowe we are gone without hope euer to returne againe to see thē, & to liue together with them.

At a time when he would make a new shearing forth of the Indians, because his pleasure was such, yea men say that it was in deede to rippe the Indians, as those to whome he meant no good at all, but to giue them away to whome he saw good: here was the cause that the Indians sowed not their groundes one whole yeeres continuance.

So as nowe, when they wanted bread, the Spaniardes tooke away from the Indians their Mahis, which they had in store for prouision, to nourishe them and their children: whereby there dyed of famine, more then twentie or thirtie thousande soules. And it came to passe, that a woman fallen madde with the famin, slue her sonne to eate him.

Forasmuch as euery townshippe, and all other places inhabited that the Spaniardes had in their subiection, was none other then a very garden of pleasure (as hath bin sayd) they kept them selues euery one forsooth in the place escheated to him in partition (or as they vse to speake) giuen him in commaund, and did their affayres, nourishing themselues with the goods and prouisions of the poore Indians. In this wise did they take the landes and inheritaunces perticuler wherewith they sustayned themselues, so as the Spaniardes kept in their owne houses, all the Indians, Lords, old men, women, and children, causing them to serue them day and night without rest, euen to the infantes as soone as they coulde but goe, to put them to the greatest thing they were able to doe: yea and to greater thinges then they were able to doe. And thus haue they consumed and abolished, and doe yet euery day vnto this present, consume and abolish the few remayning behind, not permitting thē to retayn house nor ought els that is their owne. Wherein they may vaunt to haue surmounted them selues, in their owne iniquities and vnrighteousnesses by them wrought in Hispaniola.

They haue discomfited and oppressed in this prouince a great number of people, and hastened their death in cawsing them to beare burdes and tymber vnto the hauen thirtie leagues distaunce, to make shippes with: and sent them to goe seeke honnie and waxe amidoest the mountaines, where the Tigres deuoured them: Yea they haue laden women with childe, and women new delinered in lying in, with burdens enough for beasts.

The greatest plague which hath most dispeopled this prouince, hath beene the licence which the gouernour gaue to the Spaniardes, to demaunde of euery of the Caciques and Lordes of the countrey slaues. They did giue them euery foure or fiue moneths, or as often times as euery one coulde obtayne licence

of

of the gouernour fiftie slaues: with threatninges, that if they gaue them not, they would burne them aliue, or cause them to bee eaten with dogges.

Nowe ordinarily the Indians doe not keepe slaues, and it is muche if one Cacike doe keepe two, three, or foure: Wherefore to serue this turne, they went to their subiectes, and took first all the Orphelins, and afterwards they graced of him that had two children one, and of him that had three, two: and in this maner tooke the Cacike payne to furnishe them to the number that the tyranne imposed, with the great weeping and crying of the people: for they are people that doe loue (as it seemeth) tenderly their children. And for because that this was done continually, they vnpeopled from the yeere 23. vnto the yeere 33. all this realme. For there went for fiue or sixe yeeres space, fiue or sixe shippes at a time, carrying foorth great numbers of those Indians, for to sell them for slaues at Iamaica and Peru: where they all dyed not long after. For it is a thing proued and experimented a thousande times, that when the Indians are transported from their naturall country, they soone ende their liues: besides that these giue them not their sustenaunce, neyther yet diminish they of their toyle, as neyther doe they buy them for vaylable beasts toyle. They haue by this maner of doing driuen out of this prouince of the Indies, whome they haue made slaues, being as free borne as I am, more then fiue hundreth thousande soules. And by the diuelishe warres which the Spanishe haue made on them, and the horrous cruelnesse that they haue vsed vpon them, they haue brought to their deathes, other fiftie or sixtie thousande persons, and doe yet dayly make hauocke of them at this present. All these slaughters haue been accomplished within the space of fourteene yeeres. There may be left at this day in all this prouince of Nicaragua, the number of a foure or fiue thousande persons, whiche they alle cause to die as yet euery day, through bondages and vyle offices ordinarily imposed vpon them, hauing bin the countrey the most peopled in the worlde, as I haue already said.

Of newe Spayne.

IN the yeere aye thousande, fiue hundred and seuenteene, was newe Spaine discouered: at the discouerie whereof were committed great disorders and slaughters of the Indians, by those which had the doing of that exployt. The yeere a thousande, fiue hundred, and eyghteene, there went Spanish Christians (as they terme them selues,) to rob and slay, notwithstanding that they sayde they went to people the countrey. Sithence that yere, a thousande, fiue hundred, & eyghteen, vnto this present the yeere a thousande, fiue hundreth, fourtie two, the vniust dealings, the violencie, and the tyrannies which the Spaniardes haue brought against the Indians, are mounted to the highest degree of extremitie: those selfe same Spaniardes, hauing thorowly lost the feare of God, and of the king, and forgotten themselues. For the discomfitures, cruelties, slaughters, spoyles, the destructions of Cities, pillages, violences, and tyrannies which they haue made in so many realms, and so great, hath bin such & so horrible, that all ỳ things which we haue spokē of, are nothing in comparison of those which haue bin done and executed frō the yere 1518. vnto the yere 1542. & as yet at this time, this moneth current of September, are in doing & cōmitting ỳ most grieuousest, & the most abominablest of all: in such sort ỳ the rule which we set downe before is verified: That is, that from the beginning they haue alwaies proceeded frō euil to worse, & haue gone beyond thēselues in ỳ most greatest disorders & wicked doings.

In such wise, as that since the first entring into newe Spaine, it was on the eight day of April, in ỳ 18. yeere, vnto ỳ 23. yeere, which make 12. yeeres complete: the slaughters & the destructions haue neuer ceased, which the bloodie and cruel handes of ỳ Spaniardes haue continually executed in 200. and 300 leagues of land or there about in cōpasse, round about Mexico, & the neighbour regions round about, such as the which might containe 4. or 5. great realmes, as great & a great deale farre fertiler then is Spain. All this countrey was more peopled with inhabitantes,

then

ther Toledo, and Seuill and Cordoua, and Granado, with Barcelona. For that there hath not beene commonly in those cities, nor neuer yet were such a number of people, when they haue beene peopled with the most, so as there was then in the sayde countrey, which containeth in the whole compasse more then one thousande eyght hundred leagues: during the time of the abone mentioned twelue yeeres, the Spaniardes haue slaine & done to death in the sayd hundred & fiftie leagues of land what men, what women, what young and litle children, more then foure millions of soules, with the sine of their sworde and speare, & by fire, during (I say) the conquestes (as they call them) but rather in deede during the routes of barbarous tyrannes, suche as are condemned not onely by the law of God, but also by all lawes of man, and are worser then those which are done by the Turke to destroy the church of Christ. Neyther yet doe I here comprise those whom they haue slayne, and do slay as yet euery day, in the aforesaid slauerie and oppression ordinary.

There is no tongue, skill, knowledge, nor industrie of man, which is able to recount the particularities of the dreadfull doo-ings, which these arrand enemies, yea deadly enemies of mankinde haue put in vre generally throughout and in euery parte, and at diuers times within the saide compasse of grounde, specially some of the deedes done, be considered their circumstances whe-ther make them become the more haynous, can not be well as it ought to be discyphred by any diligence, leasure, or quoting what soeuer that may be thereto employed. Howbeit I will rehearse some things of certayne parties, but vnder protestation, & as if I were sworne solemnly to tell the truth, that is, that I doe beleeue that I shal not when I haue all done, touch one only point of a thousande.

Of newe Spaine in particular.

Amongst other murderers & massacres they committed this one which I am now to speak of, in a great citie more then of a thirtie

thousande housholdes, which is called Tholula: that is, that comming before them the Lords of the countrey and places nere adioyning, and first and formost the Priestes with their chiefe high priest in procession, to receiue the Spaniardes with great solemnitie and reuerence, so conducting them in the middest of them, towardes their lodgings in the citie, in the houses and place of the Lorde, or other principall Lordes of the Citie: the Spaniardes auailed with themselues to make a maidhere, or a chastile (as they speake) to the ende, to raise and plant a dread of their cruelties in euery corner of all that countrey.

Nowe this hath beene alwayes their customary maner of doyng, in euery the regions which they haue entred into, to execute incontinent vpon their first arriuall, some notable cruell butcherie, to the ende, that those poore and innocent lambes should tremble for feare, whiche they should haue of them in this wise they sent first to foreturn all the Lordes and noble men of the citie, and of all the places subiect vnto the same citie: who so soone as they came to speake with the captayne of the Spaniardes, were incontinent apprehended before that anye bodye might perceiue the matter, to bee able thereupon to beare tydinges thereof vnto others. When were demaunded of them fiue or sixe thousande Indians, to carry the loadings and carriages of the Spaniardes: which Indians came forth with, and were beshowed into the base courtes of the houses. It was a pitifull case to see these poore folke, what time they made them redy to beare the carriages of the Spaniarde. They come all naked, onely their priuie partes couered, hauing euery one vpon their shoulder a nette with a small weale of victuall: they bowe themselues euery one, and bend their backes lowted downe like a sort of silly lambes, presenting themselues to the woodde, and thus being all assembled in the base court together with others, one part of the Spanishe all armed, bestowe them selues at the gates to hemme them in, whiles the rest put these poore sheepe to the edge of the swoorde and the speares, in such sort, that there could not scape away one onely person, but that hee was cruelly put to death: saying that after seuen or eyght dayes, you might haue seene come forth sundry all couered with blood whe-

All the Lordes whiche were there and vnderstoode the
bounde, the Capteyne ouer them
being founde
one Lorde, whiche might
king of the
pie vnfortunate
good vnto them as a forte
qewe
But the
ly armed
those which were within. When
Dye ruffi
done you? why doe ye slay vs? God
Mexico
take vengeance of you. It is reported that as the Spaniardes
playe this game
Lucifer a fire
all in a Iollitie
Mira Nero de Tarpeya á Roma como arde.
Gritan, dan bozes, y cantan y el de nada se duele.
That is to say,
Fro Tarpey top, dan Nero gasit Rome all flaming
brenne,
Both young and old cry out, the whiles his heart did neuer
yerne.

holdes, and more people inhabiting them in the citie aforesaid. They find here with the sharpe of the sworde, an infinite number of people, with great cruelties & particularities of cruelties. From Cholula they went to Mexico. The king Motensuma sent to meete them a thousande of presentes, and Lordes, and people, making ioy and entertaynment by the way.

And at the entry of the streetes of Mexico, which reacheth two leagues in length, he sent also his brother, accompanied with a great number of honourable Lordes, bearing with them rich presents, golde, silver, & apparell: & at the entrees of the citie, the king in person with all his great traine came to receyue them, being carried in a litter of golde, and them accompanied into the palace which they had caused to be made ready for them.

The selfe same day, as some haue told me, they which were then in the palace, tooke by a certayne dissimulation the great king Motensuma, as he suspected nothing, and ordained seuerall men to keepe him. After wardes, they put giues on his feete. But letting all this passe, in the which there were notable poynctes to speake of, I will onely rehearse one which was singuler in naughtynesse of those tirantes. The Captaine generall of the Spanishe men sent on a certayne iourney to take another Spanishe Captayne, which came against him warre, and hauing left another vnder captayne in his roome, with a fewe more then an hundreth men to keepe the sayde king Motensuma: these same aduised with them selues to doe another thing worthy the note, to the ende, to encrease and augment more and more in all those regions, the awe which they had of them: a practise and stratageme which (as I sayde before) they haue often vsed. All this meane while the Indians, the common people, and the Lordes of the whole Citie sought none other thing, saue onely to shewe pleasure and pastime to their Lorde which was detayned prisoner. And amongest other sportes which they made him were their friskes and daunces which they made in the euening thorowout all the high streetes and market places, which daunces, they call Mitotes, as in the Iles they call them Areytos.

Now no meruell in these friskes all their riche furniture, their best gorgious araye, and their iewels, desyring them selues to

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liking in all things: for these are the greatest signes of ioy and festivitie that they vse. Hauing at this time the nobility and principales of the blood royall, & the rest of their degree kept their reuels and feastes at the nearest vnto the house where was destyned prisoner their soueraigne. Joyning vnto the walles of the saide palace, were there more then two thousande youthes, Lordes children, which were the flower of the nobilitie of all the state of Mexicana. Against those mades out the captayne of the Spaniardes with a troupe of souldiers, sendyng the others vnto other places of the citie where the fristes and daunces were kept, and all making wise onely to go see them. The captayne had giuen in charge, that at a certayne appointed houre, they should all cast them vpon those daunsers, and bee himself for his own part, casting himself into the throng. The Indians mistrusting nothing, but onely intending their disposed pastimes, sayd vnto vs among themselues, Vpon the fire. And then they arming swordes in their fistes, they began to rip these bodies naked and delicate, and to shed that blood gentle and noble, in such sort, as that they left not a man alive. The others performed the like in other places, a thing which set all those realmes and nations in a fright & extreme desperation, and whereof as long as the world shall last, they will neuer (if themselues do not decay) lose memorie, and recorde in their dreames & solemne meetings, as in time these calamities, and the spoile of the ruyning of their ancient nobilitie, of the which they are wont to vaunt themselues & glory very much.

The Indians seeing so great an iniquitie, and a cruelties neuer heard of the like, made againste so many innocentes without any cause: specially hauing put in prison the naturall & that no lesse wrongfull of their louer aigne Lorde, who also had commaunded them not to make warre vpon the Spaniardes: all the citie put themselues in armes, wherupon the Spaniardes being assaulted and many of them hurt, with much a do might they escape, but set a dagger on the chest of the best of the prisoner Motezuma to kill him, if he laied not him selfe out at a gallery or window, to command the Indians that they should not beset the house & they should keepe the quiet. The Indians taking no care as then of obeying, assailed the captayne & [illegible] amongst

amongst them selues to conduct their warres. And for as much as the Captayn which was gone to the water, was returned backwards, leauing with him more Spaniardes then he had carried forth, and for that hee was nowe neere at hande, the combate ceased about a three or foure dayes, vntill further time as hee was entred the towne.

Then the Indians assembled an infinite number of people out of all the countrey, and skirmished in such wise, and so long a season, that the Spanish thought they should all die on the place, wherefore they deliberated to abandon the citie for one night. That which their deuise being knowen to the Indians, they slewe of them a great number vppon the bridges of the Marshes in a warre most righteous, and most lawfull for the causes most righteous which they had as hath been saide: the which euery reasonable and true louing man will maynteyne for good.

Soone after, the Spanishe hauing reuiued themselues, the combat with the Citie renewed, where the Spaniardes made an horrible and ghastly butcherie of the Indians, and slue an infinite of people, and brent aliue the great Lords.

After these great and abhominable tyrannies committed in the Citie of Mexico, and in other cities, and the countrey rounde, fifteene and twentie leagues compasse of Mexico: this tyranny and pestilence aduanced it selfe forwarde, to waste also, infect, and lay desolate the prouince of Panuco. It was a thing to bee wondered at of the worlde, of people that there were, and the spoyles and slaughters there done. Afterwarde they wasted also after the selfe maner, all the prouince of Tuitepeke, and the prouince of Pellugo, and the prouince of Colima: eche prouince conteyning more grounde then the realme of Leon & of Castile. It shoulde bee a thing very difficulte, yea, impossible to speake or recount the discomfitures, the slaughters, and the cruelties, which they there committed: and woulde cause a great remorse vnto the hearers.

Here is to be noted, that the citie wherewith they entred, and began to make hauocke of all these barueleste and filthy Indians, and haue vnpeopled that countrey, which shoulde haue caused a great reioycing to all those which shoulde bee in heauen

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Christians, beyng so peopled as they were: was to say that they shoulde come and put them selues in subiection, to serue the king of Spain, otherwise that they woulde kill them, or make them slaues. And those which came not incontinent to satisfie their demaundes so vniust, and did not put them selues into the handes of men so vniust, cruell, and beastly, they called them rebelles, as those which had lift vp them selues against the kinges Maiestie, and for such they accused them to the king our soueraigne Lorde: the blinde vnderstandings of those which gouerned the Indians, beeing not able to comprehende nor perceyue this much, which in their lawes is more cleerely taught then any other principle of Lawe, that is, that none can bee reputed a rebell, if first hee be not a subiect. Nowe let Christians, and those which haue any perceyuerance consider with them selues, if suche cases can prepare and informe the mindes of any nations whatsoeuer liuing in their countrey in assurance, and not thinking to owe any thing to any person, hauing their owne naturall liege Lordes whom they serue and obey, suddenly to come and tell them tydings:

Put you vnder the obeysance of a king a stranger, whom yee neuer sawe, nor neuer hearde of before: otherwise knowe yee that wee will rent yee incontinent all to peeces, specially when it is knowen by experience that they doe it in deede as soone as it is but sayde. And that which is farre more frightfull, they take those, which doe yeelde them selues to obey, to put them into a moste grieuous bondage, in the whiche there are toyles incredible, and tormentes greater and of longer continuance then those same of them which are executed by the swoorde, for in the ende they perishe, they, their wiues, their children, and their whole generation.

And put the case, that though the threates and frightes afore sayde, those peoples, or any others whosoeuer doe come to obey and acknowledge the dominion of a straunger king: doe not these blunderers see, being altogether benummed with ambition and desire of soueraynes, that they winne not a mite of profite, for muche lesse it is, that it be cayled vpon frightes and terrours which might bee able to make men the constantest and

the best aduised: and that by the lawes of nature, man, and God, it hath no more force then a handfull of winde, to make any thing auaylable to any purpose whatsoeuer, sauing the punishment and obligation which abideth them in the bottom of hel. I passe ouer the losses and dammages which they doe to the king, when as they spoyle his realmes, and bring to nought (as much as in them lyeth) all the right which they haue in the Indies.

These are nowe the seruices, whiche the Spaniardes haue done, and as yet doe at this houre vnto the aforesaide kinges, and soueraigne Lords, vnder the colour of this gallant title, so rightfull, and so smoothly garnished.

This Captayne tyraunt, with this gorgeous and pretended title, dispatched two other Captaynes, as very tyrauntes and farre more cruell, and lesse pitifull then him selfe, into greate realmes most flourishing, and most fertile, and full of people, to witte, the realme of Guatimala, which lieth to the seawarde on the South side, and the same of Naco, and Honduras, otherwise called Guaymura, which coasteth on the sea on the North side, confronting and confining the one with the other, three hundred leagues distaunce from Mexico. Hee sent the one by land, and the other by sea: both the one and the other carried with them a maynie of troupes to serue on horsebacke and a foote.

I say the trueth, that of the mischieues which these two haue wrought, and principally hee whiche went to Guatimala (for that other dyed soone after of an euill death,) there might be made a great booke, of so many villanies, of so manie slaughters, so many desolations, and of so many outrages and hurtfull iniustices, as were able to affright the age present and to come.

For certayne this man surpassed all the others, present, and gone before, in quantitie and in number, as well for the abominations whiche hee committed, as for the peoples and countreys whiche he layde waste and desert. All the which thinges were infinite.

Hee which went by sea, committed exceeding pillinges, cruelties, & disorders amongst the people on the sea coast: before whose come comming with presents from the realme of Yucatane vnto

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che is the high way to ꝑ aforesaid realme of Nueua Guatimara, towards the which they went: when he came vnto them he sente captaynes, & a mayny of men of armes throughe all that land, who che went sacking, slaughtering, & destroying as many people as there were to be found, & principally one, who with cheer hundyes more, hauing mutined and rebelled, and setting himselfe into the countrey towardes Guatimala, went spoyling and burning all che townes that he found, in killing and robbing the people inhabitants of them. That which he did of a set purpose, in more then an hundred and twentie leagues of the land, to the end, that if any had sent after him, those which should come, shoulde finde the countrey dispeopled and debelled, and that they were so slain of the Indians, in reuenge of che wrongs and spoiles by them made. After whome haue succeeded sundry others most cruell tyrantes, the which with their slaughters and dreadful cruelties, and by bringing the Indians into thraldome, whom afterwards they soulde vnto those who carried them with their shippings of wine, garments, and other things, and by reason of the tyrannicall seruitude ordinary, since the yeere a thousande, fiue hundred, twentie foure, vntill the yeere 1535, haue layd waste those same prouinces and realmes of Naco and Honduras, the which resembled a paradise of pleasures: and were more peopled, frequented, and inhabited, then any countrey of the worlde: and now of late we comming a long thereby, haue seene them so dispeopled and destroied, that who so should see them, his heart would cleaue for sorrowe, ware he neuer so flintie.

They haue slaine within these eleuen yeeres, more then two Millions of soules, hauing not left in more then an hundreth leagues of the countrey square, but two thousande persons, whome they slay as yet dayly in the sayde ordinarie bondage.

Nowe let vs returne to write of the great tyraunt and Captayne, which went to Guatimala, (who, as hath been sayde, exceeded all the aforepassed, and is comparable to all those, which are at this day) from the prouinces neere to Mexico, (according as him selfe wrote in a letter to the principall tyraunt which hath sente him) distaunte from the realme of Guatimala 400. leagues, (keeping ꝑ way by him traced) & as he went, slu, robbed, burned,

burned and destroyed all the countrey, where soeuer he came, vnder the shadow of title aboue mentioned, saying, that they should submit themselues vnto the, that is to say, vnto men so inhumane, so wicked, and so cruell: in the name of the king of Spaine, who was vnto them vnknowen, and of whom they had neuer heard speake: and the which those nations there esteemed more vniust and more cruell then they his men were. And the tyrannes giuing vnto them no respect of time to deliberate, they fling vpon the poore folke, in a manner as soone as the message was done, putting all to fire and blood.

Of the Prouince and realme of Guatimala.

NO sooner arriued hee into this sadde realme: but that he beganne with great slaughter of the inhabitaunces. This notwithstanding the chiefe Lorde came to receiue him, being caried in a lighter, with trumpettes and tabours, reioycinges, and disgysers, accompanied with a great number of the Lordes of the citie of Vtinan, headcitie of the whole realme, vsing them all seruice with all they had, but specially in giuing them foode abundantly, & whatsoeuer they demaunded besids. The Spanish lodged this night without the citie, forasmuche as the same seemed vnto them strong, and there might bee thereby daunger.

This Captayne called to him the next morrowe the chiefe Lorde, with other great Lordes, who beeing come as meeke sheepe, hee apprehended them al, & commaunded the to giue him certayne summes of golde. They answering that they had none, forasmuch as the countrey yeelded none: hee commaundeth incontinent to burne them aliue, without hauing committed any crime whatsoeuer, and without any other forme of iudges or sentence.

As the Lordes of all these prouinces perceiued, that they had burned their soueraigne Lordes, onely becaulle they gaue them no golde, they flewe all to the mountaynes, commaunding

their

their subiectes to goe to the Spaniardes, and to serue them as
their Lordes, but that they should discouer them, and giue the
intelligence where they were.

With this, last all the people of the country, presenting
them, and protesting to be their seruants, and to serue them as their
Lordes. The Captayne made answere that hee would not
accept of their, but that hee would kill them if they told not
where were their Lordes. The Indians answered, they could
not tell ought: but according their selues they were content,
that they should employ them to their seruice, with their wiues
and children: and that they should vse their houses, and that there
they might kill, or doe what so euer them pleased.

It is a wonderfull thing, that the Spaniardes went to their
villages and boroughes, and finding there these silly people at
their worke, with their wiues and children, neyther mistrusting
any thing, they pearced them with their Speares, and mas-
sacred them to peeces. They came to one borowe great & migh-
tie, which helde it selfe more assured then any other, because of
their innocencie: whome the Spanishe layde desolate in one
hour all whole, in the space of two houres, putting to the edge of
the sworde, children, with women, and aged persons, and all those
which could not escape by flying.

The Indians seeing that by their humilitie, by their gen-
tlenes and patience, they could not pacifie nor mitigate the mal-
moode, and outrageous hartes of their enemies, and that without
any reason, or shewe of reason, they were hacte in peeces: and
feeling likewise that they were sure to die ere long: they deui-
sed to assemble and realye themselues to die all in warre, and a-
uenge themselues the best that they could vpon their enimies the
Spanishe diuelles: knowing also well enough them selues with-
out weapons, that be naked, weake, and on foote, and suche as
could by no meanes preuayle or carrie away the victory, but
that in the ende they should be destroyed: they minded between
them to digge certayne ditches in the middest of the wayes, to
make their horses tomble into, and pearcing their bellies with
pales that were set and hent at one ende, there of for purpose,
and couered ouer so orderly with greene turfe, that it seemed
there

there was no such matter.

There fell in houses once or twise: for the Spaniardes afterwardes coulde beware of them. But nowe to auenge them, they made a law, that as many Indians as might be taken aliue, shoulde bee flong into the same pittes. Hereuppon they cast in women with child, and women newe delinered of childbirth, and olde folke as many as they coulde come by; vntyll that the ditches were filled vp. It was a lamentable thing to beholde the women with their children stabbed with these pickes. All besides, they slue with thrust of speares, and edge of swoorde. They cast of them also to fleshe fraunching dogges, which tare them and deuoured them. They brent a Lord at a great fire of quicke flames: saying, they woulde herein doe him honour. And they persisted in these butcheries so vnnaturall, about seuen yeeres, from the yeere 24. vntill the yeere 31. Let any esteeme, what may bee the number of people: whome they might haue slayne.

Amongst an infinite of horrible actes which this cursed tyraunt did in this realme with his bandes of souldiers, (for his vnder captaynes were no lesse mischieuous and inhumane then himselfe, and withall likewise those that were vnder them against to serue their turne,) this one was notable: That where as in the prouince of Cuzcatan, where is at this houre, or neere there aboutes the citie of Saint Sauiour, a countrey very fertile with all the sea coaste on the Southe, containing fourtie or fiftie leagues: and likewise in the Citie of Culcatan the mother Citie of the prouince, there had been made him a very great entertaynement, of more then twentie or thirtie thousande Indians attending him, all laden with poultrie and other victuals: this Captayne arriuing, and hauing receiued the presentes, hee commaunded that euery one of the Spaniardes shoulde take of this great number of people, such as shoulde please him, to serue him all the time that they shoulde make their abode there, and that they shoulde constrayne them to beare for them, of their carriage all that should bee needefull.

Euery man tooke vnto him other an hundred, or fiftie, or as many

many as it seemed sufficed him to bee well serued. These poore lambelike innocentes serued the Spaniardes with all their power, that there wanted nothing, saue if they shoulde doe vnto them godly honour. Whyle this captayne was occupied of the Loydes very much golde for they were principally commen for that purpose.

The Indians answered that they were ready to giue them all the golde they had: and layed together a great furniture of hatchets of copper and gylt, where with they serue their owne turnes, the same resembling golde, as in deede it hath in it some litle deale. The Captayne causeth to put to the touch: and as he sawe it was copper, hee sayde to the Spaniardes, nowe the deuell take such a countrey: let vs bee gone hence, seeing here is no golde heere: and euery man put the Indians whiche hee hath retayned to serue him, to the hotte irons, and so to marke them for slaues.

What which they did, handing with the kinges more he all that they might. I sawe the sonne him selfe of the principall Loyde of this citie, to bee so handed. The Indians which escaped, with all other of the Countrey seeing all the mischiefes of the Spanishe, beganne to assemble, and put them selues in armes: whereupon the Spaniardes vsed great diuersitie of tortures and slaughters, returning to Guatimala where they builded a citie, the which God of a iust iudgement hath rewarded with three ouerwhelmings falling all three together: the one was with water, the other with earth, and the third with stones, of the bignesse of tenne or twentie oxen. By such like meanes all the Loydes and the men that were able to beare armes being slayne: those which remayned, were reduced into the diabolicall seruitude for euer after, being made tributary slaues or villayns regardant, but giuing for their tribute sonnes and daughters, for they will haue none other kind of bondmen. And so the Spaniardes sending whole ships laden with them to Peru to sell there, with their other slaughters, haue destroyed & laide desert as whole

Realme of an hundred leagues square or above, a countrey the most delectable, and peopled the most that might be in the worlde. For the Spaniardes themselues wrote hereof, that it became peopled then Perou: and herein they say the truth. They haue done to death, with his conforters and confederates, more then foure or fiue Millions of soules in fifteen or sixteen yeeres space, from the yeere twentie foure, vnto the fourtieth yeere: and yet at this houre they slay and destroy those that remayne.

This tyranne had a custome, when as hee went to make warre vpon any Citie or Prouince: to carrie thither of the Indians alreadie vnder yoke, as many as he could, to make warre vpon the other Indians: and as hee gaue vnto a ten or twentie thousande men which he ledde along no sustenaunce, he allowed them to eate the Indians which they tooke: And so by this meanes hee had in his campe an ordinarie shambles of mans flesh, where in his presence they killed and roasted children. They killed men, onely to haue off from them their handes and their feete, which partes they helde to be the daintiest morcels. When the nations of other countreys vnderstoode of all those vnnaturall doings, they could not tell what to do for frighefulnesse.

He was the death of an infinite sorte of the Indians in making of shippes, the which hee carried from the South sea into the South, which are an hundred and thirtie leagues. He transported after this rate great store of artillerie, which he loaded vpon the shoulders of these poore folke going naked: whereby I haue seene very many fall downe in the high way, by reason of their great burdens.

Hee vnto whole houholdes, by taking from the men their wiues and daughters: the which afterwardes hee dispersed in gyftes to his Mariners and souldiers: to please them withall, who led them along with them in their nauies. He stuffed all the shippes with Indians, where they died for thirst and hunger. Certainely if I should take vpon me to tell the particularities of these cruelties: I should make a great booke thereof, which should astonish the worlde. Hee made two nauies, eyther of

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a great number of shippes, which the which hee consumed as with fire and lightning flashing from heauen all those peoples: O howe many poore children hath hee made fatherlesse Orphans, howe many men and women widowers and widowes, bereauing them also of their children? How many aduulteries, whoredoms and rapes, hath he been the cause of? How many hath he of free made villanyes: Howe many anguishes and calamities by him haue nations suffered: Howe many hath hee caused to shedde teares, sighes and groninges: Of how many desolations hath hee giuen the occasion in this life, and the meanes for others to fall into euerlasting damnation in the life to come, not onely of the Indians which are innumerable, but of the miserable Spaniardes, with whose ayde he hath serued himselfe in villanyes so excessiue, and sinnes so enormous, and abominations so execrable: I wish in God that hee haue taken paine of him: and that hee hadbeen pleased in so euill an ende as he sent him.

Of newe Spaine, and Panuco, and Xallisco.

After the exceeding cruelties and slaughters aforesayd, and the others whiche I haue omitted, whiche haue been executed in the prouinces of newe Spayne and Panuco: there came to Panuco an other tyraunt, cruell, and vnbridled, in the yeere 1525. Who in committing very many cruelties, and in hanging many for slaues, after the maner aforesayde which were all free, and in sending very many shippes laden to Cuba, and Hispaniola, where they might bee sold as bondmaide of them, hee atchieued the desolation of this prouince.

And it hath come to passe in his tyme, that there hath been giuen for one slaue, eyght innocent Indians soules partakers of reason. And this man from this roome was promoted to bee president of Mexico, and of all the prouince of new Spaine, and there were promoted with him other tyraunnes, to the offices of Audiences, shippes, in the which dignities they committed so many

vngracious turnes, so manie sinnes, so many cruelties, robberies, and abominations, that a man can not beleeue them to be such. And they set forwarde also this countrey into so extreme a desolation, that if God had not kept them by meanes of the resistance of the religious men of Saint Francis order, and if that there had not been prouided with all speede a court of audience, and the kings counsayle in those partes friende to all vertue, they had laide wast all newe Spayne, as they haue done the Ile of Hispaniola.

There was a man, amongst those of the company of this captayne, who to the end to enclose a garde of his, ib a wal: kept in his workes eight thousande Indians, without paying them ought, nor giuing them to eate, in maner that they dyed, falling down suddenly, & he neuer tooke the more thought for the matter.

After that the chiefe Captayne which I spake of, had finished the laying waste of Panuco, and that hee vnderstoode the newes of the comming of the kinges court of Audience: hee aduised with him selfe to proceede farther into the innermoste partes of the realme, to search where hee might tyrannize at his ease, and newe by force out of the prouince of Mexico 15. or 20. Millions of men, to the ende, that they shoulde carrie the loades and carriages of the Spaniardes whiche went with him, of whom there neuer returned agayne two hundred, the others being dead on the high wayes.

Hee came at the prouince of Mechuacam, which is distant from Mexico fourtie leagues, a region as blissefull and full of inhabitauntes, as is that of Mexico. The king and Lorde of the countrey went to receiue him with an infinite companie of people, which did vnto them a thousande seruices and curtisies.

Hee apprehended him by and by, for that hee had the hope to be very rich of gold and siluer: and to the ende, that hee shoulde giue him great treasures, hee beganne to giue him the torments, and put him in a payre of stockes by the feete, his body stretched out, and his handes bounde to a stake, hee maketh a flashing fire against his feete, and there a boy with a bassing syringle tolued in oyle in his hande stoode and bassed them a litle and a litle, to the ende to well roaste the skynne. There was in one side of him a cruell man, the whyche with a crossebowe bente, ayned

eyght at his heart, on the other syde an other which he bad a dogge snarling, and leaping vp as to renne vppon him, which in lesse then the tyme of a Credo, had beene able to haue torne him in pieces: and thus they tormented him, to the ende hee shoulde discouer the treasures which they desired, butyll suche tyme as a religious man of Saint Fraunces order tooke him away from them, notwithstanding that hee dyed of the same tormentes.

They tormented and slue of this fashion very many of the Lordes and Caciques in these Prouinces: to the ende that they shoulde giue them gold and siluer.

At the same time a certayne tyrant going in visitation to visite the powches, and to robbe the goodes of the Indians, more then for any care hee had of theyr soules, founde, that certayne Indians had hid their Idolles, as those which had neuer been better instructed by ꝑ cursed Spaniards of any better god, he apprehended and detayned prisoners the Lordes, vntyll suche time as that they woulde giue them their Idolles: Supposing all this while they had beene of golde or of siluer: howebeit they were not so, wherefore hee chastised them cruelly and wrongfully.

But to the ende hee woulde not remayne frustrate of his intent, which was to spoyle, hee constrayned the Caciques to reuocme their sayde Idolles, and they redeemed them for such gold & siluer as they coulde find, to the ende, to worship them for Gods, as they had bin wont to do aforetime. These be the examples & deedes which these cursed Spaniardes do: and this is the honour which they purchase to God, amongst the Indians.

This great tyrannt and Captayne passed farther from Petchuacham to the Prouince of Xalisco, the which was all whole most full of people, and most happie. For it is one of the moste fertillest and most admirable countrey of the Indies, whiche haue borrowes containing in a maner seuē leagues. As he entred this cōtrey the L. with ꝑ inhabitants, according as al ꝑ Indians are accustomed to do, wēt to receiue him wᵗ ꝑsēts & ioyfulnes. Hee begā to cōmit his cruelties & mischeuousnes, wᵗ he had learned & all the rest had bin accustomed to practise, wᵗ is to heap vp gold wᵗ is their god. He burned townes, he tooke ꝑ Caciques prisoners, and gaue them tormēts. Hee made slaues all that hee tooke. Where

where there dyed an infinite number tyed in chaynes. The women neare deliuery, trauelling with child, going laden with the stuffe of euill Christians, and being not able to beare their owne children because of trauell and hunger, were fayne to cast them from them in the wayes, where of there dyed an infinite.

An euill Christian taking by force a young Damsell to abuse her, the mother withstoode him: and as shee would haue taken her away, the Spaniarde drawing his dagger or rapier, cutte off her hande, and slue the young girle with flashes of his weapen: because shee would not consent to his appetite.

Amongst manys other thinges, hee caused vniustly to bee marked for slaues, foure thousande, fiue hundred soules as free as they, men, women, and sucking babes, from of a yere and a halfe olde, vnto three or foure yeares olde: which notwithstanding had gone before them in peace to receiue them, with an infinite number of other thinges that haue not beene set downe in writing.

Hauing atchieued the diuelishe warres immunerable, and hauing in the same committed very many slaughters, hee reduced all that countrey vnto the ordinary seruitude, pestilential and tyrannicall, vnto the which all the tyrant Spaniardes whiche are in the Indies, are accustomed, or pretende to cast those people. In the which enterprey, hee constituted also, and permitted his Stewardes and all others to execute cruelties neuer heard of before, to the ende, to drawe from the Indians golde and tribute. His Stewardes slewe very many of the Indians, hanging them and burning them aliue, and casting some vnto the dogges, cutting off their feete, handes, head, and tongue, they being in peace, onely to bring them into a feare, to the ende they shoulde serue him, and giue him golde and tributes: all this knowing, and seeing this gentle tyrant, euen to come to the whippes, basto nades, blowes, with other sorts of cruelties wherewith hee vexed and oppressed them daily.

It is sayde of him, that hee hath destroyed and burned in this realme of Xalisco, eyght hundred boroughes, whiche was the cause that the Indians being fallen desperate, and seeing those which remayned, to dye they perished thus cruelly: they slue vp

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themſelues, and went into the mountaynes, ſlaying certayne Spaniardes (whome by good right) ſtudy afterwardes because of the wicked meſſes and outrages of their tyrannies now being, whilſt they ſeeke by that way to deſtroy other prouinces (that which they call diſcouering) many of the Indians aſſembled, fortifying themſelues vpon certayne rockes. Vpon the which rockes the Spaniſhe haue made and yet at this preſent, and dayly doe make ſo many cruelties, that they alone ſhall haue an ende of laying deſolate all this great countrey, ſlaying an infinite number of people.

And the ſuperiors thundereers for Gods, and giuen ouer into a reprobate ſenſe, not ſeeing the cauſes moſt juſt which the Indians haue by the lawes of nature, man, and God, to beate them in peeces, if they had ſtrength and inuentions, and ſo to caſt them out of their countrey: and not ſeeing the moſt iuſt of their owne cauſe, ouer and beſides ſo many tortures and tyrannies which they haue endured in that ſort, to heare newes: they thinke, ſpeake, and write of the victories which they haue ouer the poore Indians, leauing them in deſolation, that it is GOD which giueth the ſame vnto them, as though their warres were atchieued righteouſly: thus they reaſon themſelues, and giue thankes vnto God for their tyrannies, and vnto thoſe tyrannes and theeues of whom ſpeaketh the Prophet Zacharie, in the eleuenth chapter verſe 4. ſaying:

Feede the ſheepe of the ſlaughter, they that poſſeſſe them ſlay them, and are not grieued, and they that ſell them, ſay, bleſſed be the Lorde, for we are become rich.

Of the realme of Yucatan.

In the yeere one thouſande, fiue hundred, twentie and ſixe, was ſent ouer the Realme of Yucatan an other captiue gouernour, and that through the lies and falſe reports which himſelfe had made vnto the king: in like maner as hath the other tyrannes,

saints vntill this present, to the end there might bee committed vnto their offices & charges, by means whereof they might rob at their pleasures. This realme of Yucatan was full of inhabitants: for that it was a countrie in euery respect hollsome, and abounding in plentie of victuals, and of fruites more then Mexico: and singularly exceeded for the abundance of honnie and waxe there to bee founde, more then in any quarter of the Indies, which hath beene seene vnto this present. It conteyneth about three hundred leagues compasse. The people of that countrie, were the most notable of all the Indies, as well in consideration of their policie and prudencie, as for the vprightnes of their life, verily worthie the training to the knowledge of God: amongest whome there might haue beene builded great Cities, by the Spanishe, in which they might haue liued as in an earthly Paradise, if so bee they had not made themselues vnworthie, because of their exceeding couetousnesse, harde heartednes, and heynous offences: as also vnworthie they were of other moe blessings a great many, which God had set open in these Indies. This tyrant began with three hundred men to make warre vpon these poore innocent people, which were in their houses without hurting any body: where he slue and ransacked infinite numbers. And for because the Countrie yeeldeth no golde, for if it had yeelded any, hee woulde haue consumed those same Indians, in making them to toyle in the mynes: to the ende hee might make golde of the bodies and soules of those for whome Jesus Christe suffered death, hee generally made slaues of all those whome hee slue not, and returned the ships that were come thither, vpon the blowing abrode and noyse of the selling of slaues, ful of people bartered for wine, oyle, vinegar, powred Bacons flesh, garments, horses, and that, that euery man had neede of, according to the Captaines estimate and iudgement. Hee woulde set choose amongest an hundred or fiftie young Damosels: bartering some one of the fayrest, & of the best complexion, for a caske of wine, oyle, vinegar, or for a porke powred. And in like maner hee woulde let choose out a young handsome stripling amongst two or three hundreth for the

the aforesaid Indians, A wife hath beene seene, that a youth seeming to be the sonne of some prince, hath been burdened for a Theefe, and an hinderer of persons for an house. Hee continued in these voinges from the yeere twentie six, vntill the yeere thirtie three, which are seuen yeeres, desolating and dispeopling those Countries, and killing the people there without pitie or mercie, vntill the time that the natiues came of the riuers of Peru, and that thereupon the Spaniardes hyred them thither, by occasion whereof this Diuelish tyrannie ceased for a season. A few dayes after, his men returned, to doe and commit other haynous enormities, as robberies, & wrongful imprisonments, with offences great against God: neither doe they cease as yee at this day to doe them, but haue laide desart and dispeopled all those three hundred leagues, the which were as well replenished and peopled, as hath been saide.

There is no man that can beleeue, or rehearse the cases particuler of the cruelties, which were of them committed. I will onely rehearse two or three, comming to my remembrance at this instant. As these cursed Spaniards, went with their mad dogges a forraging by the townes, and hunting out the Indian men and women: An Indian woman being sicke, and seeing her selfe not escape their dogges, that they should teare her as they did others: shee tooke a corde and hanged herselfe at a beame, hauing fastened at her foote a childe shee had of a yeere olde, and shee had no sooner done: Behold these Curres, which come and dispatche this infante, howe be it that before it dyed, a Religious man a Fryar baptised it.

When the Spaniardes parted out of this Realme, one amongest others saide, to a sonne of a Lorde of some Citie or Prouince, that hee should goe with him: the boy answered, and sayde, hee would not forsake his Countrie. The Spaniarde replyed: Goe with mee, or els I will cutte off thine eares. The young Indian persisted in his first saying, that hee would not forsake his Countrie. The Spaniarde drawing out his dagger, cut off first one, & then his other eare.

The young man abyding by it still that hee would not leaue his countrey: hee mangled off also his nose, with the vppermost of his lyppes: making no more scrupulositie of the matter, then if hee had giuen him but a phillip.

This damnable wretch magnified him selfe, and vaunted him of his doynges, villanously vnto a reuerende religious person saying: that hee tooke as much paynes as hee could, to get the Indian women in great numbers with childe, to the ende, hee might receiue the more money for them in selling them great with childe for slaues.

In this realme, or in one of the prouinces of newe Spayne, a certayne Spaniard went one day with his dogs on hunting of venison, or else conies, and not finding game, hee moued his dogs that they should be hungrie, and tooke a little sweet Babe which hee bereaued the mother of, and cutting off both the armes and the legges, chopped them in small obiectes, giuing to euery dog his liuery or portion: and after the deuorsels thus dispatched, hee cast also the rest of the body of the carkase to all the kenell together.

By this ye may see how great the vnmercifulnesse of the Spaniardes is in that countrey, and how God hath deliuered them vp into a reprobate sense: and what aboundance they make of those same nations which are created after the image of God, and redeemed with the blood of his Christ. We shal see hereafter more notable matter.

Leauing now the cruelties infinite, and neuer heard of the like, which in this realme were done by those which call themselues Christians, and such as no iudgement of man can sufficiently imagine them: I will conclude with this fame: That is, that being nowe departed that realme all the diuelish tyrantes, blynded with the couetousnesse of the riches of Peru, a reuerend father, fryer James, with foure other religious of S. Frauncis, was moued in spirite to goe into this realme to pacifie them, and for to preach to them, and to win vnto Iesus Christ those which might bee remayning of the butcheries and cyrannous murders, which the Spanish had hitherto perpetrated seuen continuall yeres.

And I beleeue that these fame were those religious persons,

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the which in the yeere 34. certaine Indians of the Prouince of Mexico, sending before them messengers in their behalf, requested them that they would come into their countrie, to giue the knowledge of that one onely God, who is God, and very Lorde of all the worlde: and for whose occasion the Indians helde a councel sundrie times, parlementing and inquyring them selues in their folke motes: to wit, what kinde of men those might be, which were called by the speciall name of fathers and brethren, and what it was that they pretended, and wherein they differed from the Spaniardes, of whom they had receiued so many outrages and iniuries: according in the ende to admit them with condition, that they should enter themselues alone, and not the Spaniardes with them, that which the religious promised the. For it was permitted them, yea, commaunded them so to doe, by the Viceroy of new Spaine, and that there should no kinde of displeasure bee done vnto them by the Spaniardes. The Religious men preached vnto them the Gospell of Christe, as they are accustomed to doe, and as had been the holy intention of the kinges of Castile, that should haue beene done. Howbeit, that the Spaniardes in all the seuen yeres space past, had neuer giuen the any such notice of the truth of the Gospel, or so much as that there was any other king sauing himself, but tyrannized ouer them, and destroyed them. By these meanes of the religious, after the ende of fortie dayes that they had preached vnto them, the Lordes of the countrie brought vnto them, and put into their handes their idols, to the end that they should burne them. After also, they brought vnto them their young children, that they should catechise them, whom they loue as the apple of their eye. They made for them also Churches, and Temples, and houses. Moreouer, some other prouinces sent, and inuited them, to the ende that they might come to them also, to preache, and giue them the vnderstanding of God, and of him whom they saide to be the great king of Castile. And beeing perswaded and induced by the religious, they did a thing which neuer yet before hath been done in the Indies. (For whatsoeuer the tyrants, some of those which haue spoyled those Realmes, & great Countries, haue continued to blemishe and defame the poore In-

dians withall, they are mockeries and leasinges:) twelue or fifteene Lordes, which had very many subiectes and great dominion, assembling euery one for his owne part his people, and taking their aduise and consent, of their owne voluntarie motion, yeelded themselues to the subiection, and to bee vnder the domination of the kinges of Castile: admitting the Emperour as king of Spain, for their liege Soueraigne. Whereof also they made certaine instrumentes, by them consigned, which I keepe in my charge, together with the testimonies thereunto of the said religious.

The Indians being thus onwarde in the way of the faith, with the great ioy, and good hope of the Religious brethren, that they shoulde bee able to winne vnto Iesus Christe all the people of the Realme that were the residue, beeing but a smal number of the slaughters, and wicked warres passed: There entred at a certaine tyme, eighteene Spaniarde tyrantes on horse backe, and twelue on foote, hauing with them great loades of Idols, which they had taken in the other Prouinces of the Indians. The Captaine of those thirtie Spaniards, called vnto him a Lorde of the countrie there aboutes as they were entred, and commaunded him to take those idols, and to disperse them throughout al his countrie, selling euery idol for an Indian mã, or an Indian woman, to make slaues of them, with threatening them, that if hee did not doe it, hee woulde bidde them battaile. That saide Lorde beeing forced by feare, distributed those Idols throughout all the countrie, and commaunded all his subiectes, that they should take them to adore them, and that they shoulde returne in exchaunge of that ware Indies and Indilles to make slaues of. The Indians beeing affeard, those which had two children, gaue him one, and he that had three gaue him two. This was the ende of this sacrilegious trafficke: and thus was this Lord or Cacick, faine to content these Spaniards: I say not Christians.

One of these abhominable chafferers, named Iohn Garcia, beeing sicke, and neere his death, had vnder his bed two packs of Idols, and commaunded his Indish maide that serued him,

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to looke to it that she made not away his idols that there were for Purlimeus, for they were good stuffe: and this making vent of them, she should not take lesse then a slaue for a piece one of them with another: and in fine, with this his Testament and last will thus deuised, the captiue dyed, busied with this deep goodly care, and who doubteth but that he is lodged in the bottome of hell?

Let it now be considered, and well weyed what kinde of aduancement of religion it is, and what are the good examples of Christianitie of the behauiour of the Spanishe, that saple to the Indies? What honour they doe vnto God, how they paine themselues to haue him knowen and adored of those nations? what carke and care they haue of the doing of it, that by their meanes the rather the sacred faith shoulde bee dispersed, encreased, and enlarged in the free passage thereof, amongest those silly creatures? And let it with all bee discerned if the sinne of these men be any whit lesse then the sinne of Ieroboam, Which made Israel to sinne, by making two golden Calues for the people, to fall downe before, and worshippe: or otherwise if it bee not like to the treason of Iudas, and which hath caused mine offence.

These bee the deeds of the Spaniardes, whiche goe to the Indies, whiche of a truth very many times, yea, an infinit sorte of times, for couetyse, and to scratche golde, haue solde and do sell: haue reneaged, and do reneage as yet hitherto, and at this present day: Christ Iesus.

The Indians perceiuing that, that, which the religious had promised them, was as good as nothing: namely, that the Spaniardes shoulde not enter those Prouinces: and seeing the Spaniardes whiche had laded thither idols from other places, there to make vent of them, they hauing put all their idols afore into the handes of the Fryars, to the ende they shoulde bee buried, and to the ende the true God shoulde bee by them adored, all the Countrie was in a mutinie, and a rage against the religious Fryers, and the Indians comming into them, fayre

Why haue you lyed vnto vs, in promising vs by deceite, that there should not enter any Spaniardes into these Countries? And why haue you burnt our gods, seeing the Spaniards bring vs other gods from other nations? Were not our gods as good, as the gods of other prouinces? The fryars pacified them in the best maner that they could, not knowing what to answere them: and went to seeke out those thirtie Spaniards, to whom they declared the euill which they had done, praying thē to get them thence. That which the Spaniards would not doe, but saide to the Indians, that those religious men had caused them to come thither themselues of their owne accorde, which he was righteously an extreeme maliciousnesse. In the end the Indians deliberated to kill the religious men: By occasion whereof, the Fryers fled away in a night, hauing aduertisement of the case by some of the Indians. But after that they were gone, the Indians better informed of the innocencie of the religious mē, and of the vngraciousnesse of the Spaniardes, they sent messengers after them, desiring with little leagues of, beseeching them to come againe, and craueing pardon of them. The religious, as the seruants of God, and zelous for the winning of their soules, beleeuing them, returned to them, and were receiued as if had been Angels. And the Indians doing them a thousand seruices, aboue which them found of their mistresse.

And for because the Spaniards would neuer depart that Countrie, and that namely the Viceroy with all that he could doe, could not driue them thence, newe Spaine being farre of, howbeit, hee had caused them to bee proclaimed traitours: And for as much as they neuer ceased to commit their outrages, and grieues accustomed amongst the Indians, the religious perceiuing that sooner or later they should smell of the smoke, and peraduenture the stuff flie vpon their heades: and especially that they could not preach vnto the Indians with quiet, and assurance of the Indians, & of themselues, by reason of the cruell vnmanlinesse and lewde behauiours of the Spanish, they deliberated to leaue the Prouince: which in this maner was destitute of the light of the doctrine: and those soules aboue vnder the darknesse of ignorance, and in the miserie they were in, the remedie, and the watering of the

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knowledge of God being bereaued them, already euen at their best, and when as they began to receiue it with exceeding willingnes: altogether like as if one should withdraw the watring from tender plants, and new set into a drie ground, at a hot time of the yeere: and this by the cursed vngraciousnesse of the Spanish.

Of the Prouince of Saint Martha.

THe prouince of Saint Martha, was a countrie where the Spaniardes gathered golde in all plentie: the land beeing with the regions adiacent very rich, and the people industrious to draw out the golde. Wherefore also from the yeere one thousand, fiue hundred, foorie two, infinite tyrannes haue made thither continually with their ships, ouerrunning, and ransaking along the countrie, killing and spoyling those the inhabitants, and ramping from them that gold that they had, with speedie returne euer to their ships, which went and came sixtentimes. And so wrought they in those prouinces great wastes, and slaughters, and cruelties horrible, & that most commonly on the Sea coast, and certaine leagues within the countrie, vntill the yeere one thousand, fiue hundred, and three. At what time there went Spanish tyrants to inhabite there. And for as much as the countrie was exceeding riche as hath been said, there euer succeeded Captaines one in anothers roome, euerie one more cruell then other: in such sort that it seemed that euerie one indeuored himselfe, for the masterie in doing of euilles and cruelties more haynous then had been done by his predecessour. Wherefore herein is the rule verified that we haue giuen before. The yeere one thousande, fiue hundred, twentie and nine, there went a great tyrant, very resolute, with great troupes: but without any feare of God, or compassion of the nature of man, who wrought suche wastes, and slaughters so greate, that hee exceeded all others that had gone before him, himselfe robbing for

the space of sixe or seuen yeares that he lyued, great treasures: saue after beeing vncased without confession, and fledde from the place of his residence: there succeeded him other murdering tyrantes, and theeues, which made an ende of the rest of the people, whome the embrewed handes with blood, and the caruing swoordes of the tyruntes his forerunners, coulde not extyrp.

They set themselues so forwarde in the countrey, in inuading and laying desolate very manye prouinces, with killing, and taking prisoners those people, after the fashion before practised in other Prouinces, causing the Lordes together with their Subiectes to suffer grieuous torments, both to make them discouer the golde, and the places where golde might bee had: surmounting as is sayde euery way in number of mischieuous doinges, and in the maner of dooing, all that had passed before: that from the yeere one thousande, fiue hundred, twentie and nieue, vnto this day, they haue reduced into a wildernesse in those same quarters more then foure hundred leagues of lande, which was no lesse peopled then the other countreys which wee haue spoken of.

Uerily if I had to make a bedrolle of the vngraciousnesses, of the slaughters, of the desolations, of the iniquities, of the violencies, of the massacres, and other greate insolencies whiche the Spaniardes haue done, and committed in those Prouinces of Saint Marcha agaynst God, the king, and agaynst those innocent nations: I shoulde write an history very ample. But that maye bee done if God spare mee lyfe, hereafter in his good tyme: onely I will sette downe a fewe woordes of that which was written in a letter by a Bishoppe of this Prounce to the king our Soueraigne: and the letter beareth date the twentieth of May, 1541. The whiche Bishoppe amongst other woordes, speaketh thus: I say, sacred Maiestie, that the way to redresse this countrey, is that his Maiestie deliuer her out of the power of Stepfathers, and giue vnto her an husbande whiche may increate her as is reason, and according as shee deserueth: otherwise, I am sure hereafter as the tyrauntes whiche nowe haue the gouernement, doe torment and tormoyle her, shee will soone take an ende, &c.

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And a little below hee sayeth: Whereby, your Maiestie shall knowe clearely, howe those which be gouerne in those quarters doe deserue to bee disamounted, and deposed from their gouernment, to the ende, that the common weales maye bee relieued. That if that be not done, in mine aduise, they can neuer be cured of their diseases. His maiestie shal vnderstand moreouer, that in those regions, there are not any Christians but diuels, that there are no seruantes of God and the king, but traitors to the state, and their king. And in truth the greatest encombraunce that I finde in reducing the Indians, that are in warre, and to set them at peace, and to lead those which are at peace to ẏ knowledge of our faith, is vnnaturall & cruell entreaty, wᵗ they ẏ are in peace do receiue of ẏ spanish, being so deeply altered, & lãced, ẏ they haue nothing in more hatred & horror, thẽ the name of christiãs, ẏ which in al these countreys they cal in their lãguage, yares, ẏ is to say, diuels. For ẏ acts which they cõmitted here, are neither of christians, nor of mẽ which haue the vse of reasõ: but of diuels. Whereof it commeth to passe, ẏ the Indies which doe see these behauiors to be generally so far estrãged frõ all humanity, & thout any mercy, aswell in ẏ heads as in ẏ mẽbers; they esteem, ẏ the christians do hold these things for a law, & that their God, & their K. are ẏ authors thereof. And to endeuor to perswad thẽ otherwise, were to endeuor in vaine, & to minister vnto thẽ ẏ more ample matter, to deride and scorne Iesus Christ & his law. The Indians that are in warre, seeing the intreatie vsed toward the Indians that are in peace: would chuse rather to die once for all, then to endure sundrie deathes, beyng vnder the commaund of the Spanish. I knowe this by experience, most victorous Cesar. &c.

He sayth for a surcharge in a chapter a little lower, His M. hath in these parts more seruants then it supposeth. For here is not one souldier of so many as are of them, that dare not say openly & publikly, ẏ if he roue, rob, wast, slay, or burne the subiects of his M. to the ende ẏ they giue him some gold, he serueth there in your M. wᵗ this title, ẏ he saith, therof redoundeth to his M. his part. Wherfore, most christiã Cesar, it should be good, that your M. gaue them to vnderstand, by chastising some seuerely, that it

receiueth no seruice in ought, whereby God is disobeyed and dishonoured. All the aboueſayde are the formall woordes of the saide Bishoppe of Saint Martha: by the which may bee seene clearly, what is done at this day amongest these poore innocent peoples in those countreys.

He calleth the Indians in warre, those which saued themselues by flying into the mountaines from the slaughters of the mischieuous Spaniardes. And hee calleth the Indians in peace, those which after hauing lost an infinite of their people, by the massacres, haue been thralled into the tyrannicall and horrible seruitude aforesayde, and whereof in the ende they haue been fined out, desolated, and slayne, as appeareth by that which hath been saide by the Bishoppe, which notwithstanding speaketh but little, in comparison of that which they haue suffered.

The Indians in that countrey haue accustomed to say, if when they are trauayled and dryuen vp the mountaynes loden, they happen to fall downe, and to faynte for feeblenesse, and for payne: for at that tyme they lay on vpon them blowes with their feete and with their staues, and they breake their teethe with the pomelles of their swordes, to make them rise, and march on without taking of breath, with these woordes, out vpon thee, what a villanie art thou: they (I say) the Indians, for their partes are wont to say, I can no more: kill mee heere right. I doe desire to die heere: and this they say with great sighes, and beeing scarce able to speake, for hauing their heart drawen together, declaring a great anguishe and dolour. But who were able to giue to vnderstande the hundreth parte of the afflictions and calamities, that these innocent people doe suffer of the cursed Spaniardes? God make them to take knowledge of it, that are able and bounde to redresse it.

Of the Prouince of Carthagene.

This Prouince of Carthagene is situate vnder, and a fiftie leagues distant from the same of Saint Martha, towardes the West, confining with the prouince of Ceu, vnto the gulph of

of Arabia: which are a hundred leagues all along the Sea side, and is a great countrie within land towardes the South. These Prouinces since the yeere 1498. or 99. vntill nowe haue beene euill entreated, martyred, wasted, desolated like vnto that of Saint Martha: and there hath beene in these same done by the Spaniardes such cruelties, ransackinges, and pillagings enormous: as the which to make an ende the rather of this briefe Summarie, as also to make way to the rehearsall of their euill doinges in other Prouinces, I will not stande to touch in particuler.

Of the Coaste of Perles, and of Paria, and of the Isle of the Trinitie.

FRom the coast of Paria, vnto the gouiph of Venesuela, without fourth, which are two hundred leagues: the Spanishe haue wrought great and straunge destructions, rioting vppon that people, and taking aliue as many as they could, to the ende they might sell them for slaues: and oftentimes making them prisoners against the assurance and the promise of friendshippe made vnto them, neither keeping with them their faith plighted vnto them, & friendly entertainements which they had receiued and entreated in their houses, as parents and children, vsing them to serue their turn withall, and inioying all that they had, and that that they were able to doe for them. It cannot bee well told, nor particularly rehearst, the sundrie kindes and greeuous vexations, wronges, hurtes, and spoyles, which those people endured at the Spaniardes handes, from the yeere 1510. vntill this present. I will onely rehearse two or three actes, by the which it may bee iudged of the rest, innumerable and excessiue, and worthy all tormentes and fire.

In the Ile of the Trinitie, which is farre greater and more fertile then the Ile of Scicile, and wyneth with the firme lande of the coaste of Paria, and where the people are the best disposed, and most enclined to vertue in their kinde, of all

the Indians, as they went, there a captaine Rouer in the yeere, 1510. accompanied with 60. or 70. other petie theeues well appointed: they published among the Indians by proclamations, and other publike soumõs, that they should come and dwell and liue with them in that Ile. The Indians receiued them as their owne bowels and babes: and as well the Lordes as subiectes serued them with exceeding readines, bringing them to eate frõ day to day, as much as might suffice to feede, as manie moe people. For this is the liberalitie of all these Indians of the new world, to bestow on the Spaniards of al that they haue in great abundance. The Spanish build a great house of timber, in the which the Indians should dwell all together: for the Spanishe would haue it so, that there should be one only house for all, and no more, to compasse that, which they had alredie premeditate to do, & did it. When they laid the thetch vpon the binding staues or sparres, and had alreadie couered to the height of two mens length, to the end that those that were within might not see those that were without, vnder colour to hasten forward the woorke, þ it might be the sooner dispatched, they set a great number of people within, the Spaniards deuiding themselues, the one part of them being bestowed without, compalling the house round about with their weapons, because of those that might get forth, the other part of them preste into the house: Thus laying hands on their swordes, they began to threaten the Indians naked as they were, to kill them if they did stirre, and then bound them. And those which fled they hewed them in peeces: Howbeit some of the Indies which fled, both of the hurt & not hurt, with others that had not come within the house, toke their bowes & arrowes and assembled themselues in another house, about an hundred or two hundred persons: And as they kept the gate, the Spaniards set fire on the house, & burned them aliue. After with their purchase, which might bee of an hundred or fourescore persons of them which they had bounde: they get them to the Ile of saint Iohn, where they solde the one moitie, and thence to the Ile of Hispaniola, where they solde the other moitie. As I repphended the captaine for this notable treason, at the same time, and at the same Ile of Saint Iohn, hee made an answere vnto me, quiet your selfe,

selfe for that matter. So haue they commanded me to doe, and giuen me instruction which sent mee: that if I coulde not take them by warre, I shoulde take them vnder countenance and colour of peace. And in truth the Captaine tolde mee that in all his life, he neuer had founde father nor mother, but in this Isle of the Trinitie, in respect of the friendly courtesies the Indians had shewed him. And this hee spake to his owne greater confusion and aggrauating for the surcharge of his owne offences. They haue done other things semblable vnto these infinite, in this firme Lande: apprehending the poore people contrary to the safe conduct promised. Let it now be weighed, what maner of doings these are, and whether the Indians in this wise taken, might iustly be made slaues.

At another time, the religious Fryars of saint Dominicks order, being determined to goe preache, and to conuert those nations, who had not the light of the doctrine for to saue their soules, as is the case at this day of the Indians: they sent a religious man licenciate in diuinitie, a mã vertuous & holy, with a laie man of his order his companion, to the ende hee shoulde take a viewe of the Countrie, to trauerse acquaintance with that people, and search out a place commodious to builde monasteries. The religious being arriued: they receiued them as Angelles commen from heauen: and heard with great affection, attention, and willingnesse such wordes as the religious at that time were able to giue them to vnderstand, more by signes then otherwise, for they knew not the tongue. It came to passe that there arriued there another ship, after that the ship in whiche the religious men came was departed thence, and the Spanish in this vessell, keeping their diuelish custome, by sutelty without the knowledge of the religious, carried away the Lord of the countrie called Alfonso: were it þ Friars had giue him this name, or els others. For the Indians loue & desire to beare the name of þ Christiãs, desiring incõtinẽt þ it may be giuen them euen before they know any thing, þ they may be baptized. They inuited fraudulẽtly this Don Alfonso to come aboord their ship with the lady his wife, & other persõs, making semblãte to go about to feast thẽ. In the end there entred seuenteene persons, together ab the

Lord and his Lady the Lord trusting that the religious persons being entred into his Countrie, would keepe the Spaniardes from doyng any wrong: for otherwise hee woulde neuer haue put himselfe in the handes of the Spanish. The Indians therfore thus being in the ship, the traiterous Spaniards hoysed sayles, and away they went to Hispaniola with them, there selling them for slaues. All the Countrie seeing that their Lorde & soueraigne Lady were carried away, they run to the religious men, purposing to kill them. The poore men seeing so great a villany, were of themselues at a point to dye for sorrowe: and it is well to be beleeued of them, that they woulde rather haue gyuen their lyues in the quarrell, then to haue accorded that anye such iniury should haue been committed: specially considering that was enough to hinder the course begun, so as those poore Heathens should neuer, neither heare, nor hearing beleeue the worde of God. Howbeit, they appeased the Indians in the best maner they could, saying that they woulde write to them at Hispaniola by the first ship that went, & would take suche care and order in the matter, that their soueraigne should be restored them againe with those that were in his company. God sent immediately vpon a ship thither, no doubt for the greater confirmation of the damnation of those which there gouerned, and they wrote to the Spanishe religious men that were in the Isle of Hispaniola. They cry out, and call heauen and earth to witnesse against them, both first, & sundrie times after: But the Iudges of the audience, would neuer giue them audience to do thē iustice, for because thēselues had part in the bootie of the Indias, which the tyrants had so against all right & reason takē. The two religious men, which had promised the Indians of the countrie, that their Lord Don Alonso, with others shold come home with the rest within foure moneths, seeing ỳ they came not neither in 4. nor 8. made thēselues redy to the death, & to giue their life, whosoeuer they had gaged before they came out of Spaine, if neede shoulde bee, and in that sort the Indians tooke vengeance on thē in killing them iustly, notwithstanding that they were innocent: for because that they thought that the religious men had beene the occasion of this treason, and for because they saw that, that whiche they had certified and promised them, tooke not effect: to witte, that within foure monethes they shoulde haue

honye their Lorde: and for that, at that time they knewe not, and nowe as yet they knowe not in that countrey, that there is any difference betweene the religious well diſpoſed, and the tyrants, theeues, and robbers the Spaniardes. Thoſe religious men therefore right happie, ſuffered iniuſtly: and for the wrong ſo ſuffered, there is no doubt but they are very martyres: and doe raigne at this day with God in the kingdome of heauen in bliſſe, who woulde that by their obedience they ſhoulde be ſent thither, and ſhould haue an entent to preache and ſpreade the holy faith, and ſaue all thoſe ſoules, and ſuffer thoſe afflictions: and death it ſelfe when it ſhoulde be preſented vnto them for Ieſus Chriſte his ſake crucified.

An other time, by reaſon of the great tyrannies and execrable actes of the curſed ones bearing the name of Chriſtians, the Indians ſlewe other two religious men of Saint Dominikes order, and one of Saint Frauncis. Whereof I am the witneſſe for that I eſcaped at the time miraculouſly from the ſame death, of the which it ſhoulde be a harde matter to entreat, and woulde bee to amaze men, by reaſon of the grieuouſnes and horribleneſſe of the caſe. Wherefore I will not lay it abroad (for being too tedious) vntil his tyme, and at the day of iudgement it ſhall bee more euident, when God ſhall take vengeance of the theeueries ſo horrible and ſo abhominable as are doone by thoſe which beare the name of Chriſtians againſt the Indians.

An other tyme in thoſe Prouinces at the Cape of the Cabera (as they call it) there was a towne, the Lorde whereof was named Higueroto, a name either proper to the perſon, or it may bee common to the Lordes of the place. This Lorde was ſo courteous, and his people ſo vertuous and ſeruiceable, that as many Spaniardes as came thither by ſhippe, they founde there good entertaynement, meate, lodging, all cheering, and refreſhing. This ſaide Lorde had alſo deliuered many from death of thoſe which were ſlidde thither out of other Prouinces, where they haue raced and tyrannized, and come thither ſicke, and halfe dead for hunger: whom they refreſhed, and afterward ſent them away ſafe to the Ile of Perles, where there were Spaniardes, and might haue ſlayne them if her had wouſde, with-

without that euer any should haue knowen it. And shortly to say the Spanish vse call the Subiectes of Vigurroto, the house and harbour of euery bootie. A captiue cyprane aduised him selfe to outrage that people also, when as they thought them selues sure enough: and getting him to a shippe, hee had there inuited a greate number of people to come a boorde her as they were accustomed to doe, and to trust the Spaniardes.

A great nũber of people being entred into her, men, women, and children, hee hoysed sayles, and went to the Ile of Saint Iohn, where hee sould them all for slaues.

I came at the same instant to the Ile of Saint Iohn, and I sawe the tyrant, and vnderstood what he had done. Hee had destroyed all that rowmeship: whereby he did great harme to all other his fellow tyrants, wonted to rob, and roue all along those coastes, insomuch as they had in abomination this act so hydeous, being bereft thereby of their harbour, and house of recure, as ordinarie & familiar vnto them as it had bin their own homes house.

I depart me to recount the mischieues infinite, and cases abominable, which haue bin vsed in that countrey, and are vsed as yet.

They haue singled out at times from all this coaste, the which was very well peopled, vnto the Iles of S. Iohn & Hispaniola, about two millions of soules, seased vpon by their purchases in thieuing and robbing: which also euery one of them they haue slaine not long after, by thrusting them into the minerals and other toyroyls, besides the great numbers there were there already before time, as we haue aboue said. And it is a pitifull thing, and able to make any heart to cleaue, were it neuer so harde, to see all this coast of a countrey most fertile, to bee left all naked and emptie of people.

It is a tried case, that they neuer conuey away their shippings of Indians so robbed & purchased, as I haue said, but that they cast the third part into the sea, besides those which they slay, whē they will sort thē to thē selues for their chafer. The cause is, that when as they will by all meanes attaine to the ende which they haue proposed to them selues: they haue need of a great number of people, for to draw a great deale of money, according to the

quantitie

quantitie of the ſlaues: & they prepare but a very ſmall deale of ſuſtenance and water, to ſerue but a fewe perſons to the ende that thoſe tyrants whom they call purueyghours of the ſhips ſhould not ſpend them much. And there is but euen ſcarſe enough, ſaue to ſerue the Spaniardes turne which go a roning and robbing: and there is alwayes wanting for the poore Indians. Wherefore alſo they die for hunger, and thirſt: and then there is none other remedie but to caſt them ouer the boord into the ſea. And verily a man among them did tell me, that fro the Ile of Lucayos, where had been wrought great ſlaughters in this maner, vnto the Ile of Hiſpaniola, which are a three ſcore, or ſeuentie leages, there trended a ſhip all alongſt, without that it had either comme paſſe or mariners carde, being guided onely by the tracke of dead Indians carkaſſes, flotting vppon the ſeas, of them whiche had been caſt in.

And after they be landed in the Ile, whither they bring them to make ſale of them: it is to make an heart to yearne of whoſoeuer, haue he neuer ſo litle compaſſion, to behold them naked and famiſhed, fall downe and faint for hunger and thirſt, women, and aged men, and children.

Afterwardes they ſoone after they ſeparate them, as it were Lambes, the fathers from the children, and the wiues from the huſbandes, in making troupes of them of tenne or twentie perſons, and ſo caſt lottes on them, to the ende thoſe curſed pur-ueighours ſhould take their ſhare, which are thoſe who do equippe or rig, and furniſh two or three ſhips for the nauy of thoſe tirants, pirates, and rouers, robbing by ſea & land, ſeaſing vppon all they come by, and pulling the poore men out of their owne houſen. And looke when the lot falleth vpon the flock where there were among thē any old or ſick perſo, ſtraight to whō a ſame ſcheated, would ſay: That the diuell take the olde graybeard, why doeſt thou giue him mee, to the ende I ſhoulde goe burie him? And this ſicke ratcall, what haue I to doe that hee ſhoulde fall out to my lotte, to the ende, I ſhoulde bes his Phiſition to cure him? Wherby a man may ſee, in what eſtimation the Spaniardes haue the Indians, and howe they accompliſhe the commaunde-ment of God, touching the loue of their neighbour, of the which depen-

dependeth the lawe and the Prophetes. The tyrannie whiche the Spanishe exercise ouer the Indians, to fishe for Pearles, is one of the cruellest and vnlefull thynges that is in the worlde.

There is no hell in this life, nor other desperate state in this worlde, that may be compared vnto it: although that the trade of golde finding, be in his kinde, very grieuous, and very miserable. They let them into the sea, three, or foure, or fiue fadome forthwoorright vnder water, from the morning vntyll sunneserre, where they are continually tuttling without stint, to plucke oysters, in the which are engendred the pearles. They surge vp aboue the waters, with a nette full of oysters to take breath: where standeth readie a Spanishe tormentor, in a little cocke boate, or a brigantine, and if the poore wretches stay neuer so litle while, to rest them selues: they all to bee buffet them with their fistes, and draw them by the haire into the boate to returne to their fishing. Their sustenaunce is fishe, and the same very fish which containeth the pearles, and the bread Tacabi, or some Mahis, which are the kindes of bread of that countrey: the one of very slender nourishment, the other is not easie to bee made into breade, of the which also, they neuer giue them their belly full.

The bedde that they lodge them in a nights, is to set them by the heeles, their bodies resting on the colde grounde, in a payre of stockes for feare of running away. Sometymes they are drowned in the sea, and at their fishing and trauayle of piking of pearles, and neuer rise vp againe aboue the water: because the Dunches and Whirlepooles (they call them Toberones and Maroxos) two kinde of monsters of the sea most cruell, which deuour a man all whole, and those doe kill them and eate them.

Let it nowe here be considered, whether in this purchase of Pearles, the commaundements of God, touching the loue of God, and our neyghbours be kept, or not: when they throwe those people into daunger of bodyes and soules. For they slay their neighbours by their couetousnesse, without that they receiue, or fayth-, or sacramentes, or els they prolonge them

them in a state of life so horrible, that they bring them to their ende, and consume them in a few dayes. For it is impossible, that men should be able to liue any long seals vnder the water without taking breath, the continuall cold percing them: & so they die commōly, par braking of blood at ꝑ mouth: because of the kitting together of their chestes, or bulke of the breast arising thereof, that they are so continually without breathing vnder the water, and of the bloody fluxe, caused by the cold. Their haires, which by nature are cole blacke, alter and become after a branded russette, like to the haires of the seawolues. The salt peeter breaketh out of their shoulders, in such sort, that they seeme to bee a kinde of monsters in the shape of men, or els some other kinde of men. They dispatched in riding about this insupportable trauayle, or rather to speake rightly, this liuelihoment, all ꝑ Lucayan Indians which were in the Iles, hauing saluoured this gaynes, and euery Indian was worth vnto them a fiftie, or an hundred Castillans. They made an open marte of them, notwithstanding it were inhibited them, by the magistrate otherwise vnmercifull: for the Lucayens were good swimmers. They also about these thinges haue slayne a number of the people of other prouinces.

Of the riuer Yuia Pari.

There runneth through the prouince of Paria, a riuer named Yuia Pari, more then two hundred leagues within land from the head. There entred the same riuer, an vnluckie tyraunt, a great manie leagues vpwarde, in the yeere, one thousande, fiue hundred, twentie and niene with a foure hundred menne or more: whiche there wroght greate slaughters, burning aliue, and putting to the edge of the swoorde, an infinite sorte of Indians, whiche were in their landes and houses doing hurt to no creature, and therefore secure, and mistrusting nothing.

In the ende hee dyed an euill death, and his Maiestie was disperaged to take it, that other tyraunts there were which succeed-

ded him in his miſchieuouſneſſes and tyrannies: and yet at this day thither they goe, deſtroying, and ſlaying, and plunging into hell the ſoules for whom the ſonne of God ſhed his blood.

Of the realme of Veneſuela.

The yeere 1526. the king our Soueraigne, being induced by ſiniſter informations and perſwaſions dammageable to the ſtate, as the Spaniardes haue alwayes payned them ſelues to conceale from his Maieſtie the dammages and diſhonours which GOD and the ſoules of men, and his ſtate doeth receiue in the Indies: graunted and committed a great realme, greater then all Spayne, that Veneſuela, with the gouernement and entier iuriſdiction, vnto certayne Dutch Marchaunts, with certayne capitulations and conuentions accorded betweene them.

Theſe ſame entring the countrey with three hundred men they found the people very amiable, & meeke as lambes, as they are all in thoſe parties of the Indies, vntill the Spaniſh do outrage them. Theſe ſet vpon them (wout compariſon) a great deale more cruelly, then any of the other tyrauntes, of the whiche wee haue ſpoken before: ſhewing themſelues more vnnaturall and fierce, then raging tygars, or wolues, or ramping Lions. For they had the iuriſdiction of the whole countrey, poſſeſſing it with more freedom, and vſing it with a greater care, and ſtarker blinde madnes of rouetyſe, ſeruing their owne turnes with all practiſes and cheuiſaunces, to get and gather golde and ſiluer, more then all they of whom hath bin ſpoken heretofore: hauing wholly ſhaken off all feare of God, and of the king: yea, hauing forgotten themſelues to bee men.

Theſe diuels incarnate haue laide deſolate and deſtroyed, more then foure hundred leagues of moſt fertill lande, and therein, of prouinces exceeding and wonderfull, fayre vayles, to the breadth of fourtie leagues, and bournes verye great, full of peo-

people, and of golde. They haue slayne, and wholly discomfited great and diuers nations, so farre forth as to abolishe the languages wonted to bee spoken, not leauing aliue that could skill of them: vnlesse some one or other, who had hid them selues in the caues and bowels of the earth, flying the dint of the swoorde, so raging and plaging. They haue slayne, destroyed, and sent to hell by diuers and strange maners of cruelties and vngodlynesses, moe (I suppose) then foure or fiue millions of soules: and yet at this present, they cease not to doe the same, by infinite outrages, spoyles, and slaughters, which they haue committed, and dee commit dayly vnto this present. I will onely touch three or foure, by the which it may bee iudged of others, which they vsed to accomplish their destructions, and dissolations aboue mentioned.

They tooke the Lord soueraigne of all the prouince without all cause, onely to bereeue him of his golde, giuing him also the torture: which Lorde vnbounde himselfe, and escaped from them into the mountaynes, wherefore also the subiectes rose and were in a mutinie, hiding thē selues vpō the mountaynes, amongst the hedges and bushes. The Spaniardes make after to chase them, and hauing founde them, commit cruell massacres, and as many as they take aliue, they sell them in port sale for slaues.

In diuers prouinces, yea in all where they became before that they tooke the Soueraigne Lorde, the Indies went to receyue them with songes, and daunces, and with presents of golde in great quantitie.

The payment made them, was, to bee put to the edge of the swoorde, and hewen in peeces. One time, as they went to receyue the Spanishe in the fashion aboue sayde: the Dutche Captayne tyraunt, caused to bee put in a thatched house a greate number of people, and, backled in peeces.

And beeing on high, neere the top of the house certayne beames which diuers had got vpon, auoyding the bloodie handes and swoordes of those people (O merciless beastes) the diuelishe man, lent to put to fire, wherby as many as there were, were burned aliue. By this meanes the countrey remained very desert, ỳ people flying into the mountaines, where they hoped to saue thēselues.

They came into another great prouince, in the confines of the prouince and realme of Saint Martha, where they found the Indians peaceable in their boroghs, & in their house, doing their busines: they continued a long time with them, eating their store, and the Indians serued them, as if they had to receiue of them their life and safegarde, supporting their continuall oppressions, and vsuall outragiousnesses, which are intollerable: besides that one Spanishe glutton, eateth more in one day, then woulde suffice an whole housholde of more then ten Indians. They gaue them at that time, a great quantitie of golde, of their owne good will, ouer & besides, other seruices innumerable, which they did vnto them. At the ende as these tyrants would depart the place, they aduised to pay them for their lodging, in this manner.

The Almain tyrant gouernour, commaunded to take suche Indians as they could, with their wiues and children, and that they should shut them by within an inclosure, wounded in of purpose, letting them know, that who so would come forth, and bee let go free, that he should redeeme himselfe at the pleasure of the vniust gouernour: in giuing so much golde for himselfe, so much for his wife, and so much for euery polle of his children. And yet to presse them the more, he commanded to giue them nothing to eate, vntil such time as they had performed the quantity of gold inflicted them for their raunsome. Many sent to their housen for golde, and bought out themselues as they were able, and those same were deliuered, and went abroad about their busines to get their liuing. The tyrant sent certain Spanish thieues & robbers, to go take them againe the second time, after they had bin redeemed. They are carried to the perclose, and there wrung with hunger and thirst, to the ende, that they shoulde yet once again pay for their freedom. And there were many amõgst them, which were taken and ransommed two or three sundry times. Others which had not to giue, for because they had all they had, he let them within the toyle dye for hunger.

And in this maner hath bin destroyed a prouince very riche of people and golde, the which hath a vale or bourne of fourtie leagues, where hath beene brent a borough of the receite of a thousande housholdes.

This

This Tyrant resolued with himselfe to pearce farther into the countrie, with a great desire to discouer on that side, ꝑ same hill of Peru. By occasion of which accursed voyage both hee and others carried foorth with them, Indians infinite, loden with two or three quintalles weight, and beeing enchained. If any were weake or wearie, fainting for hunger, or trauelling, they cut incontinent his head off euen with the coller of the chaine that yoked them: because they should not neede to vnhamper the others that went with the same collers about their neckes, and so tombled the head on the one side, and the bodie on the other. And the load of him that had so failed was distributed and bestowed vpon others. To tel of the Prouinces, which hee hath layed desart, and the townes and places which hee hath spent, for all the houses are therehed, and to number the nations which hee hath slaine, and the cruelties, and murders particuler, which hee hath committed by the way, it would be a thing scarce credible: howbeit very true and wonderfull. In this same dery course and steppes marched sithence the other tyrants, who came from the said Venesuela, and others of the Prouince of S. Martha, with the selfe same holy intention to discouer the same sacred golden palace of Peru: and founde the whole countrie in length more then two hundred leagues so burned, dispeopled, & spoyled, hauing been before most notablie peopled and most fertill, as hath been said, that themselues as very tyrantes and sauage beastes as they were, wondered and stood astonished to see the trackes of the destructions so lamentable, where soeuer he had passed.

All these thinges haue been giuen in euidence with the depositions of many witnesses by the Atturney of the councel of the Indies, and the euidences are kept amongst the Recordes of the same councell: and yet haue they neuer burnt aliue, any of those execrable tyrants. And this is nothing of all that whiche hath beene proued, of the great outrages and mischieues which these haue committed. For as much as the ministers of iustice, which vntill this time haue ben in the Indies, by reason of their great wilfull and damnable blyndnesse, haue neuer troubled themselues to examine the offences, spoyles, and murders, which haue

haue beene wrought, and yet presently are wrought by the tyrants in the Indies: saue only they will say, because suche hath cruelly intreated the Indies, the king hath lost of his reuenews so many thousande Castilians in rent, and this little verdict ouer general and confused, must suffice for the disclaime of so many villanies. And yet that litle which they take vpon them, they doe not auerr, nor deuur vpon, as they ought to do. For if they had regarde of their dutie to God and the king, it woulde bee founde, that those Almaine tyrants haue robbed the king of aboue three thousand Castillans of golde. For those prouinces of Uenesuela with the others which they haue laid waste, and dispeopled more then four hundred leagues forthright, as hath bin saide, is a region the most blissfull, and the richest of golde, and was the best peopled of any in the worlde: in such sort, that they haue disturned from the kinges cofers, and occasioned the losse in this Realm of aboue two millions of rent, within seuenteene yeeres sithence by past, that these enemies of God and the king haue begunne to destroy it: neither is there any hope that euer those losses will be repayred as long as the worlde shall indure: vnlesse it be, that God shold myraculously rayse as many millions of soules as are deceased. It shall not bee out of the way to consider, of what sortes and howe excessiue haue beene the damages, dishonours, blasphemies, & infamies, which God & his lawe hath receiued: And wherewithall may bee recouered & recompensed the losse of so many soules as burne in hell fire through the auarice and crueltie of those tyrants Almains, shall I say, or All-uains?

Onely I will conclude the discourse of their vngraciousnesse and crueltie herewith. That is, that sithence they entred the country vnto this present, that is to say, these seuenteene yeres they haue sent by Sea a great number of ships loaden & stuffed with Indians, to make sale of them as slaues at S. Martha, at the Iles of Hispaniola, and of Iamayca, and at Saint Johns Isle, moe then one million: and doe sende dayly, as nowe this yeere one thousand, fiue hundred, fortie two: the Court of the Audience royall notwithstanding stablished, for, and at Hispaniola, right well seeing all this, and dissimuling to see it, yea, fa-

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nouring and supporting all the matter: as likewise they haue had their eyes bended at all the other tyrannies and ransackings infinite, which hath been done in all this coast of this firme land: which are about foure hundred leagues, the which haue been and nowe are vnder their iurisdiction, like vnto Venesuela, & saint Martha: all which the said court might very well haue empeached and remedied. There is none other cause of putting all these Indians vnder yoke of bondage, saue the only peruerse, wilfully blinde, and obstinate greedines, and insatiable wretchednesse of these most couetous tyrants, and all to haue, and heape vp goods like as hath had all the rest throughout all the Indies, ramping these silly lambes and sheepe out of their houses, and carrying their wiues and children in the maners of moyles, and exceeding so cruel and execrable as hath been said, handing them with the kings marke, to make them vendible for slaues.

Of the Prouinces of the firme lande, or quarter that is called Florida.

INto these Prouinces went three tyrantes at three diuers times since the yeere 1510 vnto 1511. there to put in vre the actes which others, and two of them from among themselues: haue committed in other quarters of the Indians: to the end to aspyre to high degrees, in no respect conuenient to their persons, higher then their merites in the cõmon wealth could consceaue with the blood & destruction of their neighbours: and they are dead all three of an euill death, & their houses likewise haue been destroyed with them, the which they had builded in times past, with the blood of mankinde, as I can be a sufficient witnes of all three, and their memorie is nowe abolished from of the face of the earth, as if they had neuer beene in this worlde. They left all this Countrie in disorder, and confusion, and their owne manners in infamie and horror, for certaine slaughters whiche they did there, notwithstanding not so manie,

for as much as God plagued them with death before they could doe any more, and kept them from this outrage in this place, for the euils that I knowe, and haue seene that they did in other partes of the Indies.

The fourth tyrant, that came last in the yere. 1538. cunningly aduised, and beeing fully furnished: it is three yeeres since there is no tidinges concerning him. Wee are certaine that incontinent after his entrie thither: hee hath behaued himself cruelly, and since hath beene as a man vanished. That if he be aliue, hee and his mainies haue destroyed these three yeeres a great many mightie peoples, if hee hath found any in his enquest as hee hath gone: for sure he is one of the notoriousest and best experimented amongest them that haue done the most hurts, mischieues, and destructions in many Realmes with their confines: wherefore I beleeue that God hath giuen him like end vnto the others.

Three or foure yeeres after the writing of the aboue written, came out of the Florida the head of the petie tyrants which went thither with this captaine tyrant, that there left his bones: of whome wee vnderstood the cruelties and euilles, whiche there during his life time principailly, and vnder his conduct & gouernment, and since after his cursed death, the vnnaturall men haue executed against the Indians innocent, and harmeful to none, to verifie that which I had prognosticate before, they being so excessiue, that they haue the more confirmed the rule by mee set downe before at the beginning, that the farther they proceeded to discouer, destroy, and to waste countries and lands: the more cruelties and notorious wickednesses they would doe against God, and against their neighbours. It loatheth mee to recount those acres so cursed, ghastly, and bloodie, not of men but of sauage beastes: and therfore I would not trouble my head to stand rehearsing those which followed after wards.

They found many great nations, and wise common weales well instituted for pollirie and ordinances. They executed vpon them great slaughters after their custome, to the ende to imprint in their hearts an awe. They martyred and murdered them, and loded them with weightie packes like beastes. And when

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any was foreweeried or forespent, to the ende they shoulde not need to loose the chain, in the which they were giued in collers, before they come at him that fainted, they pare off the head from the collar bymme, the Troncke tombling one way, and the chaine another: as we haue before recounted to haue beene vsed otherwise.

Entring a borough, where they were receaued with ioy, and the Indians giuing them to eate their fill, and giuing them of Indians more then fiue hundred to carry their fardels, carrying the heafte of beastes in their seruice, and nessling theyr horses: the tyrants being departed thence, a captaine kinsman of the principall tyrant returned to rob the people, being without distruste & without feare, and slue with the thrustes of Launce the Lorde and Kyng of the Countrie, executing besides other cruelties.

In another borough, forasmuch as it seemed them that they were a little too neere neighbours, & stood more on their warde, for the actes villanous and infamous, which they had heard of them: they put to the edge of the sworde and launce, young & olde, great and little, subiect and soueraigne, taking to mercy no creature whosoeuer.

The head tyrant caused to pare off the nose and lips downe to the chin of a great number of Indians, yea, more then 200. (as is said) þ they had caused to bee sent for from a certaine borough, or it may bee came of their owne good will. And thus in this estate so rufull, and in these sorrowes and anguishes of blood streaming downe, they sent them away: to the end they might go carry newes of the holy woorkes and myracles, which these preachers of the sacred catholike faith, & baptised, had wrought.

Let it nowe bee iudged, what kinde of people these were, what loue they beare to the Christians, and howe they doe beleeue that God is, whome they say to bee perfectly mercifull and righteous, and that the lawe and the religion, of the which they make profession, and doe daunt themselues, is without blemish. The mischiefes are exceeding sore & strange,

which those vngracious caytiues, children of perdition there committed. And thus the desperate and vnluckie Captayne dyed without confession: and we neede not to doubte but that he lyeth buried in hell: if algates God of his infinite mercy secretly dispensed in his hidden wisdome hath not preuented him, not dealing with him, after his demerites, in respect of his vngracious lewdnes.

Of the riuer of la Plata, that is to say, of siluer.

SIthence the yeere, one thousande fiue hundred, and two or three and twentie: certaine Captaines made three or foure voyages vppe the Riuer of Plata, where there are great Prouinces and Realmes, and nations well ordered and endued with vnderstanding. In generall we vnderstood, that they haue made there greate butcheries and inuasions: but like as this Countrie is farre discoasted from the Indies most famous, so we are not able, to quote the notablest points in particuler. Wee doubt no whit notwithstanding, but that they haue done and doe keepe as yet at this houre the same order of proceedings as hath beene kept, and are in other quarters: for they bee the selfesame Spaniardes, and there are amongest them of those same, whiche haue trauersed in other actes and exploites such as hath beene specified. Moreouer, their going thither, is to become riche and great Lordes as well as others; that which cannot bee done without spoyling, robbinge, slaying, and extirping the Indians, in maner and order holden by the others.

After the writing the aboue said, I haue vnderstood, that of a truth, they haue wasted and dispeopled great Prouinces and Realmes in that Countrie, exercising strange slaughters & cruelties vpon these poore people there, for the whiche they haue abled themselues as forwarde in wickednesse, or forwarder then any

any other, as hauing the commoditie by the greater distance frō Spaine, to sinne the freer, and by occasion ther of haue liued the more disordered and farthest off from iustice: howbeit that in all the Indies, there hath beene no regarde of Justice, as appeareth sufficiently, by that which hath beene aboue saide.

Amongest an infinite sort of other thinges wee reade at the counsell table for the Indies, these also which shall bee spoken of hereafter. A tyrant gouernour gaue in commande to certaine his bands to goe assault the Indians, and that if they gaue them not to eate they shoulde kill them al. They went armed wt this authoritie, And for because the Indians would giue thē none as being open enemies, more for feare of the fighte of them, as flying from them then for want of liberalitie, they put to the edge of the swoorde more then fiue thousande soules.

Item a certaine number of the folke of the Countrie came to put themselues into their handes, and presented them their seruice, whome at aduenture they had sent for: and for because they came not so soone, or for because they woulde after their accustomed fashion, engraue in them an horrible and astonishable terrour: the gouernour commaunded that they should put them into the handes of other Indians, whome they holde for their enemies: whereupon they came weeping and crying, and beseeching them that they woulde slay them, themselues, and not deliuer them into the power of their enemies, and hauing no mind to yeede out of their houses where they were, they were cut in peeces, crying, and saying: Wee come to serue you in peace, and no you slay vs? Our blood remaine imprinted on this wall, for a witnesse against you of our vniust death, and your barbarous crueltie. Certes, this was an act of speciall marke, worthie to be remembred, and much more to bee lamented.

Of the mightie Realmes, and large Prouinces of Peru.

IN the yeere 1531. went another great tyrant with certaine other consortes, to the Realmes of Peru, where entring with the same title and intention, and with the same proceedings as all the rest before gone, forasmuch as hee was one of them, which had of long time beene exercised in all kindes of cruelties and murders, which had beene wrought in the firme lande sithence the yeere one thousande fiue hundred, and ten, hee tooke encouragement to accrewe in cruelties, murders, & robberies: beeing a man without loyaltie and truth, laying waste Cities and Countries, bringing them to nought, and vtterly vndoeyng them by slaying the inhabitaunts, and beeing the cause of all the euils, whiche ensued in that Countrie: that I am right well assured, that there is not a man that can recounte them and representhem to the eyes of the Readers, as is requisite, vntill such time that wee shall see them and knowe them at the day of iudgement. As touching my selfe, if I woulde take vppon mee, to recounte the deformitie, qualitie and circumstances of some one, I were not able to decipher them, according to that which is conuenient.

Hee slue and laide waste at his firste arriuall with a mischiefe certaine boroughes, from whome hee pillaged a greate quantitie of Golde. In an Ilande neere to the same prouinces, named Puna, well peopled and pleasant, the Lord thereof with his people receiued them as it had been Angels from heauen: and sixe monethes after, when as the Spaniche had eaten vppe all theyr prouision: They discouered also vnto them the corne whiche they kept vnder grounde, for them selues, their wiues, and their children, against a drie time and barren: making them offer of all, with teers plentiful, to spende and eate at theyr pleasure. The recompence in the ende whiche they made them, was, to put to the edge of the swoorde and launce, a great quantitie of those people. And those whom

whom they could take alive, they made them slaues: with other cruelties great and notable which they committed, dispeopling as it were all that Ile.

From thence they make to the prouince of Tumbala, whiche is in the firme lande, where they slay and destroy as many as they coulde come by. And because all the people were fled as affrighted by their horrible actes, they sayde that they made an insurrection, and rebelled against the king of Spayne. This tyraunt had this policie, and kept this order of proceeding, that, vnto all those whom hee tooke, or vnto others which presented him with golde or siluer, or other thinges which they had: hee commaunded them to bring more, vntill such time as hee perceiued that either they had no more, or that they brought him no more. And then hee woulde say, that hee accepted them for the vassals and lieges of the kinge of Spaine, and made muche of them: and woulde cause it to bee proclaymed at sounde of two trompettes, that from thence forth they woulde take them no more, and that they woulde doe them no maner harme at all: setting it downe for good and lawfull, all that whatsoeuer hee had robbed from them.

And that hee put them in feare with newes so abhominable which hee spredde amongst them, before hee receiued them into the safegarde and protection of the king, as though that after they were receiued vnder the protection of the king, they woulde not oppresse them, robbe them, lay them waste and desolate any more, yea and as though he had not destroyed them.

A fewe dayes after, the king & Emperour of those realmes, named Atabaliba, came accompanied with a number of naked people, bearing their ridiculous armour, not knowing neyther howe swordes did carue, nor speares did pearce, nor horses did runne, nor who or what were the Spaniardes: who if the diuelles had any money, woulde set them selues in enquest to goe robbe them. Hee commeth to the place where they were, saying: Where are these Spaniardes? Let them come, I will not stirre a foote, till they satisfie mee for my subiectes whome they haue slayne, and my boroughs which they haue dispeopled, and for my wealth, which they haue bereeued mee.

The Spaniardes set against him, and slue and infinite sorte of his people: they tooke him also in person, who came caried in a litter born vpon mens shoulders. They treat with him, to the ende that hee shoulde raunsome himselfe. The king offereth to perfourme foure millions of Castillans, and performeth fifteene, they promise to release him: notwithstanding in the ende, keeping nor faith nor trueth (as they neuer kept any in the Indies, vnto the Indians) they layed vnto his charge altogether vntruly, that by his commaundement the people assembled.

The king answered, that in all the countrey there mooued not a leafe of a tree, without his good will: that if there assembled any people, they were to beleeue that it was by his commaundement, and as touching himselfe that hee was prisoner, and they might slay him.

All this notwithstanding, they condemned him to bee brent alue: but at the request of some certayne, the Captayne caused him to bee strangled: and beeing strangled, hee was burned.

This king vnderstanding his sentence, sayde: Wherefore will you burne mee? What trespasse haue I done yee? Did not you promise mee to set mee at libertie, if I gaue you the golde? and haue I not performed more then I promised? Seeinges you will needes haue it, so? sende mee to your king of Spayne: speaking other thinges, to the great confusion and detestation of the great wrongfulnesse that the Spaniardes vsed, whom in the ende they burned. Here let be considered the right and title of this warfare, the imprisonment of this prince, the sentence, and the execution of his death, and the conscience, whereby they possesse great treasures, as in deed they haue robbed in those realmes from this king and other seuerall lordes infinite.

As touching the innumerable cruelties, and notable, for ỹ mischiefes and enormities withall committed in the rooting out of those peoples by them, who call themselues Christians: I will here rehearse some certayne, the which a fryer of S. Frauncis order sawe at the beginning, and the same certified vnder his name and signe: sending them into all those quarters, and amongst others into this realme of Castile, whereof I retayne a copie in my keeping in the which it is thus written:

I Frier Marke, of the order of Saint Frauncis, commissarie ouer the other friers of the same order in the prouinces of Peru, and who was one of the first religious men, wh entred into the saide prouinces with the Spaniardes: doe say, bearing true testimonie of certayne things, the which I haue seene with mine eyes in that countrey, namely, concerning the entreating and conquestes made ouer the naturall inhabitaunts of the countrey: first of all, I am an eyed witnesse, and haue certayn knowledge, that those Indians of Peru, are a people the most kinde hearted that hath been seen among all the Indians, beeing curteous in conuersation, and friendly vnto the Spaniardes.

And I sawe them giue to the Spanishe in abundaunce, golde, siluer, and precious stones, and all that was asked them, and that they had, doing them all kinde of seruice lawfull. And the Indians neuer prepared foorthto warre, but kept them in peace so long time, as they gaue them not occasion, by their euill entreating of them and their cruelties, but contrariwise receiued them with all amitie and honour in their boroughes, in giuing them to eate, and as many slaues mankinde and women kind, as they demaunded for their seruice.

Item I am witnesse, that without that the Indians gaue occasion: the Spanish as soone as they were entred the lande, after that the greate Cacike Atabaliba, had giuen to the Spanish more then two millions of gold, and had put into their power the whole countrie without resistance, incontinent they burned the said Atabaliba which was Lord of the whole countrie.

And after him they brent his captayne generall Cochilimaca, who had come to the gouernour in peace with other Lords. In the like maner also a fewe dayes after they burned a great Lorde named Chamba, of the prouince of Quito, without any fault at all, and without hauing giuen the least occasion that might bee.

In like maner they burned vniustly Schappera Lorde of the Canaries. Also they brent the feete of Aluis a great Lorde amongst all those which were in Quito, and caused him to endure sundrie other tormentes, to make him tell where was the golde of Atabaliba: of the whiche treasure as it appeared, hee knewe nothing. Also

Also they brent in Quito Cosopanga, who was gouernour of all the prouinces of Quito, which vpon the request to him first made by Sebastian of Bernalcasar Captayne vnder the gouernour, was come to them in peace: and onely because hee gaue them not golde so much as hee demaunded of him, they burned him with very many other Caciks and principall Lords. And for ought that I can vnderstand, the intente of the Spaniards was, that there shoulde not bee lefte aliue one Lorde in the whole countrey.

Item I certifie, that the Spaniardes caused to assemble a great number of the Indians, and locked them vp in three great houses, as many as coulde be poyed in, and setting to fire, they burned them all, without that they had done the least thing that might bee, or had giuen to the Spanishe the least occasion thereof whatsoeuer. And it came to passe, that a priest, who is named Ocanna, newe a young boy out of the fire, in the which hee burned, which perceiuing an other Spaniarde tooke from out of his handes the boy, and slange him into the middest of the flames, where he was resolued into ashes together with others. The which Spaniarde returning the same day to the campe, fell downe dead suddenly, and mine aduice was hee should not bee buried.

Item I affirme, to haue seene with myne owne eyes, that the Spanishe haue cutte the handes, the noses, and the eares of the Indians, and of their women, without any other cause or purpose, saue onely that so it came into their fantasie, and that in so many places and quarters, that it shoulde bee too tedious to rehearse. And I haue seene, that the Spanishe haue made their Mastiues runne vpon the Indians to rent them in pieces. And moreouer, I haue seene by them brent so many houses, and whole boroughes, or townes hippes, that I am not able to tell the number. Also it is true, that they violently plucked the little infants from the mothers dugges, and taking them by the armes, did throwe them from them as farre as they coulde: Together with other enormities and cruelties without any cause, whiche gaue me astonishment to behold them, and woulde be to long to rehearse them.

Item,

Item, I sawe when as they sent for the Caciques and other principall Indians, to come see them in peace, and assurances to them made, promising them safe conduct: and incontinent as they were arrived, they burned them. They burned two whiles I was present, the one in Andon, and the other in Tumbala: and I could neuer prouaile with them to haue them deliuered from burning, preached I vnto them neuer so muche. And in God and my conscience, for ought that euer I could perceiue, the Indians of Peru, neuer lift themselues vp, nor neuer rebelled for any other cause, but for the euill entreating of the other side, as is manifest vnto euery one, and for iust conser the Spaniardes destroying them tyrannously against all reason and iustice, withal their couetousnes, laying vpon them so many outrages, that they were determined to die, rather then to suffer much an other time.

Item I say, that by the reporte of the Indians themselues, there is yet muche golde hidden then is come to light, the which because of the cruelties and crueltie of the Spaniardes, they would not discouer, neyther euer will discouer, so long as they shall be so still entreated, but will chose rather to die with their fellowes.

Wherein GOD our Lorde hath been highly trespassed agaynst, and the kinges Maiestie euill serued, hauing beene defrauded in that, that his highnesse hath lost suche a countrey, as hath been able to yeelde sustenance to all Castile: for the recouerie of which countrey, it will be a matter of great difficultey, diligence, and charges.

All these hitherto are the formall woordes of the sayde religious person: the which are also ratified by the Bysshoppe of Mexico, which witnesseth that the reuerende father hath to his knowledge affirmed all the aboue saide.

It is heere to bee considered, that the good father sayeth, that he sawe those thynges. For that, that hee hath beene fiftie, or an hundred leagues vp into the countrey, for the space of eight or tenne yeeres, and that at the very beginning, when there were not as yet but very fewe of the Spaniardes: but as

the ringing of the golde, there were quickly gathered and flocked thither foure or five thousande, which shedde them selues foorth ouer many great realmes and prouinces, more then fiue hundred or sixe hundred leagues, the whiche countrey hath beene thoroughly destroyed, they executing still the selfe same practises, and others more barbarous and cruell.

Of a veritie from that day vnto this present, there hath beene destroyed and brought to desolation moe soules then hee hath conquered: and they haue with lesse reuerence of GOD or the King, and with lesse pitie then before, abolished a great part of the linage of mankinde.

They haue slayne vnto this day in these same realmes (and yet dayly they doe slay them) moe then foure millions of soules.

Certayne dayes passed, they pricked in shooting with dartes of reedes to death a mightie Queene, wife of Eling, who is yet King of that Realme, whom the Spaniardes by laying handes vpon him compelled to rebell, and in rebellion hee persisteth.

They tooke the Queene his wife, and so as hath beene sayde, slue her against all reason and iustice, beeing greate with childe as shee was, as it was said onely to vexe her husband withall.

If it shoulde bee expedient to recounte the particularities of the cruelties and slaughters that the Spanishe haue committed, and yet dayly doe committe in Peru: without all doubt they shoulde bee so frightfull, and in so great number, that all that wee haue hitherto saide of the other partes of the Indies, woulde bee shadowed, and it woulde seeme a small matter in the respecte of the grieuousnesse and greate number hereof.

Of

Of the newe realme of Grenado.

VVIthin the yeere 1539. there woke their flight togeather sundry Cyuantes, flocking from Uenesuela, from Saint Martha, and from Carthagene, to search for the Peroues: and there were also others which came volũtarily from Peru it selfe to aide, & make warre together in the same entrey. And they found from beyond S. Martha and Carthagene, 300. leagues by land the countrey, fertile landes, and mountable prouinces, full of infinite people, hauing heard tell of the riches, and very riche, as well of golde as of precious stones, which they call esmeraldes.

Into the which Prouinces they gaue the name of Newe Grenado. For because that the plante which came first into this countrey, was a granada, borne in this countrey. And for because that diuers wicked men and reuells of whole iuisdictions ranged about this parte, were notorious butchers, making it their occupation to shedde mans bloud, hauing the practise and experience of the great felonies afore mencioned in moste part of the other regions of the Indies: it is the cause why their diuelish wayes haue bene suche, and in so great number, which the circumstances doe make appeare so monstrous and odyous, that they haue farre exceeded the others, yea all the greate that haue gone before, done by others, or by themselues in other Prouinces.

I will recompte some one or other of an infinite wherein they are guiltie, as doone by them within these three yeeres, and which yet they cease not to commit. That is, that a Gouernour, for as muche as hee which robbed and fleshe in the newe Realme of Grenado, would not admitte him for companie with him to robbe and fley as did hee: hee procured an enquirie, and thereby euidences came in against him

him with sundrie witnesses, vpon the fact of his slaughters, disorders, and murders which hee had done, and doeth as yet vnto this day, the processe of which enquirie, together with the euidences was read, and is kept in the records of the counsell of the Indies.

The witnesses doe depose in the same enquirie, that the saide whole realme was in peace, the Indians seruing the Spaniards, giuing them to ease of their labours, and labouring continually, and manuring the grounde, and bringing them muche golde and precious stones, suche as were entrailes and all that which they coulde euer haue: the toldoes, and the Lordeshippes, and the people being distributed amongst the Spaniardes euery one his share: which is all that they studie for, for that, that it is their meanes way to attayne to their last end and scope, to winne golde.

And all beeing subdued to their tyrannie and accustomed bondage, the tyrant the principall Captayne which commaunded ouer that countrey, tooke the Lorde and King of the countrey, and detayned him prisoner sixe or seuen monethes, exacting of him golde and emeraldes without ceasing or reason at all. The sayde king (who was named Bogata, for feare which they put him in, sayde that he woulde giue them an house full of golde: hoping that hee shoulde escape out of the handes of him which tormented him. And hee sent Indians which shoulde bringe him golde, and by times one after an other they brought in a great quantitie of golde and precious stones. But because the king did not giue an whole house full of golde, the Spaniardes did kill him: whence that hee did not accomplishe that which he had promised.

The tyrant commaunding that this king shoulde bee arraigned before him selfe. They common and accuse in this order the greatest king of all the countrey, and the tyrant giueth sentence, condemning him to bee racked and tormented, if hee doe not furnishe forth the house full of golde.

They giue him the cotture and the strappado with cordes: they binde burning fires vnder his naked bellye they lay

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on boltes vpon his feete, which were fastened to one stake, and gyrd his neck fast vnto another stake, two men holding both his handes, and so they set fire vnto his feete: and the tyrant, comming vp and downe, now and then, willeth him to haue his death giuen him by little and little, if her made not readie the golde. Thus they dispatched and did to death that noble Lord in those torments, during the execution whereof, God manifested by a signe, that those cruelties displeased him, in consuming with fire all the towne where they were committed. All the Spaniardes to the ende to follow their good Captaine, and hauing none other thing to doe, but to hackle in peeces those poore innocents doe the like, tormenting with diuers and sauage torments euery Indian, both Cacike or Lorde of euery people vpon peoples, with all their flocks, that were commixed to their charges: those said Lordes with all their subiects seruing them, and giuing them golde and emeraudes as many as they could, and as muche as they had: Tormenting them onely to the ende they should giue them more golde, and rich myner alles: thus they peopled and dispatched all the Lordes of that Countrie.

For the great feare of the nocious cruelties, that one of the petie tyrants did with the Indians, there transported himselfe into the mountaines, in flying so great cruelties, a great Lorde named Dapama, with many of his people. For this they holde for their last remedie and refuge, if it might haue preuailed for them ought: and this the Spaniardes call insurrection and rebellion. Which the Captaine heade tyrant hauing knowledge of, he sendeth supplie of souldiers vnto the said cruell man: (for whose cruelties sake, the Indians that were peaceable, and had endured great tyrannies and miseries, were nowe gone into the mountaines) to the ende hee should pursue them. Who, because it sufficed not to liue them in the entrals of the earth, finding there a great multitude of people, slue and dispatched them; to mercy. Also the witnesses depose, that the said Lord Dapama, before that the Spaniards put him to death, came to the crueltie, and brought him foure or fiue thousand Castillans, these all naked: which notwithstanding he was murdered as is aboue saide.

Another time manie Indians beeing come to serue the Spaniardes, and seruing them with such humilitie and simplicitie, as they are accustomed to doe, reputing themselues assured: behold, the captaine of the towne where they serued, who commeth by night commaunding that those Indians should be put to the edge of the sworde, when they had supped, and whiles that they were a sleepe, taking their rest after the toyle which they sustained the day time. And this hee did, for that it seemed him necessary to do this massacre, to the end to engraue an awe of himself in the heartes of all the peoples of that countrie.

Another time the captaine commaunded to take an othe of the Spaniardes, to wit, howe many euery one had in his seruice of the Caciks, and principall Lords, and Indiãs of the meaner sort: that meantinent they shoulde bee brought to the moste open place of the citie, where he commaunded that they shoulde be beheaded: thus were there at that time put to death a foure or fiue hundred soules.

Moreouer these witnesses depose concerning another of the petty tyrants, that he had exercised great crueltie in slaying, & chopping off the hands and noses of many persons, aswell men as women, and destroying very much people.

Another time the captaine sent the selfsame cruell man with certaine Spaniardes into the Prouince of Bogata, to bee informed by the inhabitants what Lorde it was, that was successour vnto the chiefe Lorde, whom he had made to die ꝑ cruell death in those torments spoken of before: Who running along the countrie throughout sundrie places, tooke as many Indians as he could come by: And for that he could not learn of them, what he was that succeeded that Lorde, he mangled off some handes, he bid cast others, men and women vnto hungrie mastiues, who rend them in peeces. And in this maner haue beene destroyed very many Indies, and Indesses. One time at the fourth watch of the night, he went to ouerrunne Caciks or gouernours of the lande, with many of the Indians, which were in peace, and helde themselues assured (for he had giuen them his faith, & assurance that they shoulde receiue no harme nor damage) vpon credit

wherof, they were come foorth of their holes in the mountains, where they had been hid, to people the plaine, in the which stoode their citie: thus being comnen without suspition, & trusting the assurance made, he tooke a great number, aswell men as wome, and commanded to holde out their handes stretched against the ground, & himselfe with a woodknife cut of their hands, telling them that he did on them this chastisement, for that they would not confesse, where their new Lorde was, which had succeeded in the charge of gouernement of the Realme,

Another time for that the Indians gaue him not a cofer full of golde, that this cruel captaine required them: he sent men to warre vpon them: who cut off the handes and noses of men and women without number. They cast others before their dogs being hunger bitten, and vsed to the feate of feeding on flesh, the which dispatched and deuoured them.

Another time the Indians of that Realme perceiuing, that the Spaniards had bent 3. or 4. of their principall Lordes, they fled for feare vp into a mountaine, from whence they might defende themselues against their enemies so estraunged from all humanitie. There were of them by the testimonie of the witnesses a foure or fiue thousande Indians. The aboue saide Captaine sent a great and notable tyrant, which exceeded farre most of those to whom he had giuen the charge to ransacke and waste, together with a certaine number of Spaniardes, to the ende that they should chastise the Indian rebels: as they would seeme to make them for that they were fled from a pestilence & slaughter so intollerable: and as though it apperteined vnto them, to chastice and punish them as malefactors themselues in deede being worthie of all torment without that any body should haue of them pitie or compassion, being so deuoid thereof, as appeareth by the handling of those poore innocents of that fashion. Well, so it is that the Spanish by force preuailed to get vppe to the mountaine: for the Indians were naked without weapons. And the Spaniardes cryed peace vnto the Indians: assuring them, that they would do them no harme: and that they of their partes shoulde not war any longer. Streight way as the Indians stinted from their owne defense, the vile cruel man sent to y

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Spaniardes to take the foztes of the mountaine, and when they shoulde get them to enclose within them the Indians. They set them like vnto Tigers and Lions, vpon these lambes so meeke, and put them to the edge of the swoyde, so long that they were faine to breath and rest themselues. And after hauing rested a certaine season, the captaine commaunded that they shoulde kill and cast downe from the mountaine, the which was very highe, the residue that were aliue: that which was done. And these witnesses say, that they sawe as it were a cloude of the Indians cast downe from the mountaine, to the number by estimation of seuen hundreth men together, where they fell battered to peeces.

And to atchieue all his great crueltie, they searched al the Indians that were hid amongst the bushes: and hee commaunded to cut of their heads, at blockes ends: and so they slue them and cast them downe the mountaine: yet coulde not hee content himselfe with those saide thinges so cruell, but that hee would make himselfe a litle better knowne, augmenting his horrible sinnes, when as hee commaunded that all the Indians men and wom̃, which some priuate persons had taken aliue (for euery one in those massacres is accustomed to cull out some one of other mankinde and womankind, to the ende to become his seruants) shoulde be put into a strawen house, sauing and reseruing those, which seemed necessarie to bee employed in their seruice, and that there shoulde be put to fire: thus were there burned fourty or fiftie. Hee caused the rest to bee flong to the carrion kinde dogges, which rende them in peeces, and deuoured them.

Another time the selfe same tyrant went to a Citie called Cotta, and tooke there a great number of Indians, and caused to be dismembred by his dogs, a fifteene or twentie Lords of the principal, and cut the handes of a great multitude of men & women: which saide handes hee hanged one by another on a pole, to the ende the other Indians might see that, which he had done vnto them. There were so hanged one by another threescore and ten payre of hands. He slyced off besides from many women and children their noses.

No creature liuing and reasonable, is able to decipher the mischieues

mischiefes and cruell dealings of this fellowe, enemie of God. For they are without number, neuer otherwise heard of, nor seene: those, I meane, which he hath done in the lande of Guatimala, and all about where he hath become, for there are a good many yeres passed, in the which he hath bene professed in the misterie, to bereaue that land, & those people.

The witnesses say for a surcharge, that the cruell dealings & slaughters which haue beene committed, and are yet in the saide Realme of new Grenado, by the captaines themselues in person and by their consents giuen vnto all the other tyrants, wasters, and weeders of the nature of man, which were in his company, and the which hath laid all the countrie wilde & waste, are surhe and so excessiue, that if his maiestie doe not take some order therein in some time (albeit that the slaughter and discomfiture of ỹ Indians is done only to bereaue thē of their gold, the which they haue none of, for they haue surrendred all that which they had) they wil in a short time make an end of them so in such sort, that there will bee no more Indians to inhabite the lande, but that it wyll remaine in a wildernesse without being manured.

May, wee must note heere the cruell and pestilent tyrannie of these cursed tyrants, howe raging and diuelish it hath beene, that in the space of two or three yeeres, sithence that this realme hath bene first discouered (which as they say both those that haue been there, and those which depose as witnesses, was the moste peopled of inhabitantes, as possiblie might bee any Countrie in the worlde,) they haue rased and emptied it with slaughters, declaring themselues so farre remooued from pitie, and the reuerent feare of God and the Prince, that the opinion is, without the present succour of his Maiestie, to stay these vnnatural & diuelish tyrannies, there wil not remaine as much as one man aliue, & I verily beleue it. For I haue seen with mine own eyes that in these parts they haue destroyed and dispeopled in a small time, great countries.

There are other great Prouinces, which bounde vpon the saide Realme, of newe Grenado, which they call Popayan and

Cali, and three or foure others, which containe more then 200. leagues of ground, which they haue destroyed and desolated in the same maner, as they haue done others, robbing and slaying with torments, and the enormities afore spoken of. For the land is very fertile, and those that come from thence now dayly, doe report, ỳ it is a rufull thing to see so manie goodly townes burned and layd desolate, as they might behold passing vp & downe that way: so as there, where there was wont to be in one towne a thousand or two thousand householdes, they haue not founde fiftie, and the rest vtterly ransacked and dispeopled. And in some quarters they haue found two or three hundred leagues of lande dispeopled and burned, & great cities destroyed. And finally, by that, that sl thence into the Realmes of Peru, of the Prouince side of Quito, are entred farre into the Countrie fore and fel tyrants, as far as to the said Realme of Grenado, & of Popayan, & of Cali by the coast of Carthagene, and Araba, & other accursed tyrants of Carthagene haue gone to assault Quito, and more ouer, afterwards of the riuer side of S. Iohn, which is on ỳ south side, all the whiche haue met to ioyne handes together in this exployte: they haue rooted out and dispeopled aboue fiue hundred leagues of land, with the losse of an infinitie of soules, doing still the selfe same to the poore wretches that remain behind, howsoeuer innocent they appeare to be.

Thus then is the rule which I set down at the beginning, by them verified: that is, that the tyrannie, rage, and vngraciousnesse of the Spanishe, hath alwayes proceeded encreasing in their crueltie, vnnaturalnesse, and mischiuousnes amongst those so sweete lambes. That which is continued at this present day in those Prouinces, amongst other their doings worthy the fire and torment, is this which followeth.

After the ends of the slaughters and massacres of the warres, they bring the people into the horrible bondage aboue saide, and giue them to the commaundment of Diuels, to one an hundred Indians, to another three hundred. The cẽmaunder Diuel commandeth, that there come before him an hundred Indians, which incontinent present themselues like lambes. He causing a forty or fiftie amongest them to haue their heads cut off: saith vnto the other there present, I will serue you of the same sauce, if you

doe not mee good seruice, or if so be, that you goe out of my sight without my leaue.

That for the honour of God, all they that haue read this peece of worke, or shall giue it a reading, consider nowe, whether this act, so hideous, fell and vnnatural, doe not exceede all crueltie and iniquitie, that may bee imagined, and whether the Spaniardes haue any wrong offered them when a man calleth them Diuels, & whether were better, to giue the Indias to keep to the diuels in hel, or the Spaniards which are at the Indies.

After this I will rehearse another diuelish part, the which I cannot tell whether it be lesse cruell & deuoide of manhood, then are those of sauage beastes: that is, that the Spanish which are in the Indies, doe keepe certaine dogges most raging, taught and trayned wholy to the purpose, to kill and rende in peeces the Indias. That let all those þ are true christians, yea, and also those which are not so, behold, if euer there were the like thinge in the whole worlde: that is, to feed those dogs, they led about in them wheresoeuer they goe a great nũber of Indians in chaines as if they were hogs, and kill them, making a shambles of mans flesh. And the one of them will say to another, Lend mee a quarter of a villaine, to giue my dogs some meate, vntill I kyll one myne, altogether as if one shoulde borrowe a quarter of an hog or mutton. There bee others which goe foorth a hunting in the morning with their curres, the which being returned to eat, if another aske him: Howe haue yee sped to day, they answere, very well: for I haue killed with my dogs to day, fifteene or twentie villiacoes. All these Diabolicall doings, with others like haue beene proued in the sutes of law, that the tyrants haue had one of them against another. Is there any case more ouglie or vnnaturall?

I will here now depart me of this discourse, vntill such time, þ there come other newes of things, in vngraciousnes more notorious and remarkable (if it so be, þ there can be any more greeuous) or vntill such time as wee may returne thither to beholde them our selues anewe, as wee behold them for the space of 42. yeeres continually with mine owne eyes: Protesting in a good conscience before God, that I doe beleeue, and I holde it for

certaine, that the damages and losses are so great, with the distructions and ouerthrowes of Cities, massacres and murders, with the cruelties, horrible and ougly, with the ruins, iniquities and robberies, all the which things haue beene executed amongest those people, and are yet dayly committed in those quarters: that in all the things, which I haue spoken and deciphered, as I was able the nerest to the truth: I haue not saide one of a thousande, of that which hath beene done, and is dayly a doyng at this present, be it that you consider the qualitie, or bee it, that ye consider the quantitie.

And to the end that all Christians haue the greater compassion of those poore innocents, and that they complaine with mee the more their perdition and destruction, and that they detest the grecdinesse, lostinesse, and felnesse of the Spanish: that all doe holde it for a most vndoubted veritie, with all that hath beene aboue saide, that sithence the first discouery of the Indies vntyll nowe, the Indians neuer did harme vnto the Spanishe in any place whersoeuer, vntill suche time, that they firste receiued wrongs and iniuries, being robbed and betrayed: but indeede did repute them to be immortall, supposing them to bee descended from heauen, and they receiued them for suche, vntill suche time as that they gaue it forth manifestly to be knowen by their doungs, what they were, and whereto they tended.

I will adioyne heerevnto this, that from the beginning vnto this houre, the Spaniardes haue had no more care to procure that vnto those people shoulde bee preached the faith of Jesus Christe, then as if they had been curre dogs, or other beastes: but in lieu thereof, which is much worse, they haue forbidden by expresse meanes the religious men to doe it, for because that that seemed vn to them an hinderance likely to bee, to the getting of their golde, and these riches which their auarice foreglutted in. And at this day there is no more knowledge of God throughout the Indies, to wit, whether hee bee of tymber, of the ayre, or the earth, then there was an hundred yeeres agoe, excepting newe Spaine, whether the religious men haue gone, which is but a litle corner of the Indies: and so are they perished, and doe perishe all without faith, and without sacraments.

I bꝛother Bartholomewe delas Caſas or Caſaus, religious of the order of S. Dominicke, which by the mercie of God am come into this courte of Spayne, to ſeeke that the bell might be withdꝛawen from the Indes, and that theſe innumerable ſoules redeemed by the blood of Jeſus Chꝛiſt, ſhoulde not periſhe foꝛ euermoꝛe without remedie, but that they might knowe their creatoꝛ and bee ſaued: alſo foꝛ the care and compaſſion that I haue of my countrey, which is Caſtile, to the ende that God deſtroy it not foꝛ the great ſinnes thereof, committed againſt the fayth and his honour, and againſt our neighbours: foꝛ certaine mens ſakes notablie zealous of the gloꝛy of God, touched with compaſſion of the afflictions and calamities of others, followers of this court: howebeit, that I was purpoſed to do it, but I could not ſo ſoone haue done it, becauſe of my contin uall occupations; I atchieued this treatiſe and ſummarie at Valencia, the 8. of December, 1542. the foꝛce beeing mounted to the higheſt type of extremitie, and all the violences, tyrannies, deſolations, anguiſhes, and calamities aboueſayde, ſpꝛead ouer all the Indies; where ther are any Spaniardes, although they bee moꝛe cruell in one part then they bee in an other, and moꝛe ſauage, and moꝛe abhominable.

Mexico and her confines are leſſe euill intreated. In truth, there they can not execute their outrages openly, foꝛ that there and not elſewhere, there is ſome foꝛme of iuſtice, as ſlender as it is. Foꝛ becauſe that there alſo they kill them with diuerſe tributes: I am in good hope, that the Emperour and King of Spayne, our liege Soueraigne Lorde, don Charles the fifte of that name, who beginneth to haue vnderſtanding of the miſchieues and treaſons that there haue been, and are committed againſt thoſe poꝛe peeple, againſt the will of God, and his owne, (foꝛ they haue alwayes cunningly concealed the trueth from him) will roote out thoſe euilles, and take ſome oꝛder foꝛ this newe woꝛlde that God hath giuen him, as vnto one that loueth and doeth iuſtice: whoſe honour and proſperous eſtate Imperiall, God almightie vouchſafe to bleſſe with long life, foꝛ the benefite of his whole vniuerſall Church, and to the ſaluation of his

dome royall soule. Amen.

After hauing couched in writing the premisses, I vnderstood of certayne lawes and ordinaunces, whiche his Maiestie hath made about this time at Barcellone, Anno. 1542. in the moneth of Nouember, and the yeere following at Madrill: by the which ordinaunces, there is order set downe, as the case them seemeth to require: to the end, to cut off the mischeiues and sinnes whiche are committed against God and our neighbours, tending to the vtter ruine & perdition of this new world. His Maiestie hath made these lawes, after hauing holde many assemblies of persons of authoritie, of learning and conscience, and after hauing had disputations and conferences in Valladolyd: and finally with the assent and aduise of al those others which haue giuen their aduise in writing, and haue been founde neereſt approching vnto the law of Iesus Christ, and withall free from the corruption and spoyle of the treasures robbed from the Indians: the which treasures haue spoyled the handes and much more the soules of many, ouer whom those treasures and auarice haue got the maisterie, and where hence hath proceeded the blinding, which hath caused so to marre all without remorse. These lawes being published, the creatures of those tyrantes, who then were at the court, drew out sundrie copyes thereof (for it grieued them at the hearts: for that it seemed them that thereby there was a doore shut vp vnto them against their ravine and extortion afore rehearsed) and dispersed them into diuers quarters of the Indies. Those which had the charge to robbe, roote out, and consume by their tyrannies, (euen as they had neuer kept any good order but rather disorder, such as Lusifer himselfe might haue helde) as they read those copies before the new iudges might come to execute their charge, knowing it (as it is sayd, and that very credible) by those who vntill this time haue supported and mayntayned their crimes and outrages, to be likely that such execution shoulde bee vsed of those lawes: they ran into a mutinie in such wise, as that when the good Iudges were come to doe their duties, they aduised with them selues (as those which had lost the feare and loue of God) to cast off also all shame, and obedience which they owe to the king, and so tooke vnto them the name of open and arrant

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traytours, behauing them selues as most cruell and graceless tyrantes: and principally in the realme of Perú, where presently this yeere 1442. are committed actes so horrible and frightfull, as neuer were the like, neither in the Indies, nor in all the world besides, not onely against the Indians, the which all or in a maner all are slayne, all those regions being dispeopled: but also betwixt themselues by a iust iudgement of God, who hath permitted that they shoulde bee the butchers one of an other of them. By meanes of the support of this rebellion, none of all the other partes of this newe world would obey those lawes: But vnder colour of making supplication to his Maiestie to the contrary, they haue made an insurrection aswell as the others. For that it irketh them to leaue their estates and goodes which they haue vsurped, and to vnbinde the handes of the Indians, whome they detayne in a perpetuall captiuitie. And there where they cease to kill with the swoorde, redily and at the instant, they kill them a little and a little, by personall slaueries, and vniust charges and intollerable. That which the king could not hitherunto let: for because that they all, great and litle, roue and robbe, some more, some lesse: some ouertly, and some couertly, and vnder the pretence of seruing the king: dishonour God, and rob the king.

The Authour his wordes farder to *king Philip, then at the time of* writing thereof, Prince of *Spayne.*

THat which followeth hereafter immediatly: is a part of a Miſſiue or letter ſent, written by one, who him ſelfe was a partie in theſe voiages: recounting the works the which a captayne did, and conſented to the doing in the countrey, all the way as hee paſſed. And albeit ſo, that the ſaide miſſiue being put to binding in one booke with other papers, the binder eyther forgot, or loſt a leafe or two: notwithſtanding, foraſmuth as the ſaid miſſiue contayned things fearefull, euen to aſtoniſhement, the which one of them that had done them had giuen me: and that I had them all in my keeping: I thought good to preſent you therwithall, ſuch as it is nowe, though without beginning or ending. For that this fragment remayning of the whole, is full of notable pointes: and therefore being reſolued that it ſhoulde bee ſo printed, truſting that it will cauſe no leſſe compaſſion and horror in your highneſſe minde, then the other matters afore mentioned, with a deſire forthwith to prouide for the redreſſe.

The Miſſiue.

HEe gaue licence to put them to the Chaine and in bondage: That which they did: and the Captayne led after him three or foure moues of theſe perſons enchayned: and in this doing, he procured not ye countrey ſhoulde bee inhabited and peopled (as had been conuenient ſhoulde haue been

been done) but robbing from the Indians all their victuals they had, the inhabitants of the countrey were reduced to suche an extremitie, that there were founde great numbers dead of famine in the high wayes. And the Indians comming and going too and fro the coast, laden with the carriage of the Spaniardes, hee was the death by these meanes of about ten thousande. For not one that arriued at the very coast escaped death: by reason of the excessiue heate of the countrey.

After this following the same tract and way, by the whiche Iohn of Ampudia was gone, hee sent the Indians which hee had purchased in Quito, a day before him, to the ende they should discouer the bourges of the Indians, and shoulde pillage them, that when hee came with his maynie, hee might finde his boo-tie readie.

And those Indians were his owne mates: of the whiche such a one had two hundred, such a one three hundred, and suche a one a hundred: according to the baggage that euery one of them had: which Indians came to yeelde them selues to their maisters with all ỳ they had robbed. At doing whereof they committed great cruelties towarde young children and women: and so had hee vsed before to doe in Quito, in burning the whole countrey, and namely the garners where the Lordes kept their Mahis in prouision.

Hee suffered to bee done great outrages, in slaying the sheepe with the which they nourished and entertayned for the most part, both the Spanishe, and the naturall inhabitauntes of the countrey. And onely to haue the braynes and the sewet, hee permitted that there shoulde bee killed two or three hundred wethers, of the whiche the flesh was layne to bee cast away. And the Indians friendes to the Spaniardes, and the whiche went with the Spaniardes, onely to eate the sheepes hearts, killed a great number, for as much as they eate none other thing.

And two men in one prouince, named Purua, killed 25. wethers and sheep fit for carriage like our horse, of the which were worth amongst the Spaniardes twentie, and fiue and twentie duckates a peece, only to haue to eate the braines, and the sewet. So as by this disorder of exceeding slaughter of beastes, haue

beeu

beene lost aboue an hundred thousande head of cattell. By occasion whereof also, the countrey came into a great necessitie: the natiue of the lande miserablie dying of famine. And Quito, which was furnished of so great store of Mahis, that it can not bee well spoken: was by this meanes so assaulted with famaine, that a strike or bushell of Mahis, was rayled to the prise of 10. duckets, and a sheepe to as muche.

After that the sayde Captaine was returned from the coast, hee determined to depart from Quito, and to goe seeke the Captayne John de Ampudia, leauing thereto moe then two hundred of foote men and horse men, amongst whome were a great many inhabitauntes of the citie of Quito. Unto those inhabitaunts the captaine gaue licence to carrie with them the Cacikes, that were escheated them in sharing, with as many Indians as they would. That which they did: and Alfonso Sanches Nunta caried forth with him his Cacike, with moe then an hundred Indians besids: and in like maner Peter Cibo and his cousin; and they led out more then an hundred and fiftie with their wiues: and sundrie also sped out their children, because that in a maner euery one died for hunger. Also Hozan inhabitant of Popaian, caried out moe then two hundred persons. And the like did all the rest, citizens and souldiers, euery one after his abilitie; the souldiers crauing that they might haue licence giuen them to captiue those Indians men and women, which they carried forth: the which was graunted vnto them vntyll the death of the sayde captiues, and those deceased, to take as many more: for if the Indians were subiectes of his Maiestie, so likewise were the Spaniardes that died in the warres as well as they.

And after this maner departed the sayde Captayne of Quito, going to a citie called Otaba, the which he held at that houre for his share: and demanded of the Cacike, that there shoulde bee giuen him fiue hundred men to lead to the warres: which were giuen him with certayne principall persons of the Indians. Hee departed some of those people amongst his souldiers, and ledde forth the rest with him, some laden, and some chayned, and some vnbounde to serue him, and to bring him meate.

Thus

Thus carried hee his souldiers some pinioned in chaynes, and some in coardes. When they departed out of the Prouince of Quito, they carried out moe then sixe thousande Indians, men and women, and of al those there neuer returned home into their countrey twentie persons. For they dyed all thorough the great and excessiue trauell, which they made them endure in those hote ling countreys contrary to their nature. It happened at that tyme that one Alfonso Sanches, whom the saide Captayne sent for chiefetayne ouer a certayne number of men into a Prouince there, met with a good company of women, and young boyes laden with victuals: who stayed wayting for them without moouing from the place to giue them of that which they had, and hauing so done, the captaine commaunded that they should bee put to the sharpe of the swoorde. There happened here a mayuailous thing: which was, that a souldier striking an Indesse woman, his swoorde brake a two in the middest, at the first blowe, and at the seconde blowe there remayned nought in his handes, but the pomell hauft without that the woman was hurt. And an other souldier, willing to strike another Indesse woman, with a square dagger he had, the dagger brake at the first choppe, the length of foure fingers, and at the seconde, there remayned vnto him no moore saue the hauft.

At the same tyme the sayde Captayne yeeded foorth of Quito, and drewe out a great number of the naturall inhoornes, vnmarryng them, and giuing their young wiues vnto his Indians whom hee ledde along, and the others wiues hee gaue to others which remayned in the citie, for that they were too olde.

There followed out of Quito a woman with a litle childe in her armes, crying after him, and entreating him, that her husbande might not bee forced to goe with him, for that shee had three little children, the whiche shee coulde not nourishe but were ready to dye for hunger:

And as the Captayne gaue her a churlishe answere at her first sute, shee returned the seconde time with greater cries, saying, that her children dyed for hunger.

And seeing that the Captayne gaue her the repulse, and that hee woulde not restore her, her husbande: shee beat the childes head against the stones, and slue it.

It came to passe also, that at the tyme that the sayde Captayne came into the prouince of Lili, to a towne called Palo neere vnto the great riuer, where hee founde the Captayne Iohn de Ampudia, which was gone before to discouer, and pacifie the countrey: the saide Ampudia kepte a citie by him prouided of a garrison in the name of his maiesty, and of the marques Frauncis of Pizarro: and had set ouer them for gouernours ordinarie, one Petre Solano of Quennoues, and 8. counsellours, & all the rest of the countrey was in peace & shared out amongst them. And as he knew that the sayd captaine was in the said riuer, he came to see him with a great number of the inhabitantes of the countrey, and peaceful Indians, laden with victuals and fruites. Shortly after also all the neighbour Indians came to see him, bringing him food. There were the Indians of Xamundi, and of Palo, and of Soliman, and of Bolo.

Nowe because that they brought no Mahis which he would haue, hee sent a great number of Spaniardes with their Indians, to go search for Mahis: commaunding them to bring some whersoeuer they founde any. So went they to Bolo, and to Palo, and founde the Indians men and women in their houses in peace: and the sayd Spaniards with those that were with them, tooke them and robbed their Mahis, their golde and iewerings, and all that they had, and bounde many.

The Indians seeing that they entreated them so euill, went to complaine vnto the sayde Captayne, requesting that all which had been bereft them, might be restored them: But the Captain woulde restore them none, and forbidde them to come at him any more. Notwithstanding foure or fiue dayes after the Spaniardes excusses returne to fetche Mahis, and to pilladge the Indians native of the soyle as before time. Wherefore, they seeing that the Captayne kepte no faith with them: all the Countrie arose and reuolted from the Spanishe, whereof ensued greate dammage, and GOD and the

kinges

kings maiestie offended: and by this meanes the countrie remained dispeopled: for ẏ the Olomas & the Panipos their enemies which are mountaine people, & warlike, descended dayly to take and rob them, when they perceiued the citie and places of their abode left destitute. And amongst them, hee who was the stronger, did eate vp his fellowe, for all dyed for famine. This done, the captaine came to the citie of Ampudia, where hee was receiued for generall, and seuen dayes after from thence hee departed to goe towards the harbour of Lili and Peti, with more then two hundred horsmen and footemen. After this, that saide is, the saide chiefe gouernour sent his captaines of one side and other, to bid cruell battayle to the native Indiãs: slaying a great number of them as wel men as women: burning also their houses, and spoling their goods. This indured a good many dayes. And the saide captaine was gone towardes a citie named Yce, withall the Indians whome they had taken in Lili, without releasing any one: and beeing come to the saide Yce, hee sent incontinent Spaniardes to pillaage, take and slay all the Indians men and women, that they coulde take: thus they burned more then an hundred. From this place they goe to a Citie called Tukilicat, from whence the Cacike of the place perced forth incontinent in peace, a number of Indians going before him. The captaine demaunded golde of him and of his Indians. The Cacik told him that hee had but a small deale, and that whiche he had should be giuen him: & immediatly al began to giue him all that they had. Whereupon the sayde captaine gaue vnto euery of them a ticket, with the name of the saide Indian for a testimoniall that hee had giuen him golde: affirming that hee which shoulde haue neuer a ticket, should bee cast to the dogs to bee deuoured, because hee gaue him no golde. Whereupon the Indians for feare ẏ they were put in, gaue him all the gold that they were able: & those which had none fled into the mountaines and other townes for feare to be slaine. By reason whereof perished a great number of the native inhabitants of the countrie. And shortly after the said captaine commanded the Cacike to sende two Indians to another citie named Dagna, to will them that they shoulde come in peace, and bring him golde in a

bundance. And comming to another citie, he sent that night many Spaniardes to take the Indians, and namely of Tulilicui. So as they brought the next morrow aboue an hundred persons: and all those which could beare burdens, they tooke them for thẽselues, and for their souldiers, and put them to the chaine, whereof they dyed all. And the saide captaine gaue the little children vnto the said Cacik Tulilicui that hee should eate them: and in truth the skinnes of those children are kept in the house of the saide Cacik Tulilicui full of ashes: and so departed hee from thence without an interpreter, and went towardes the Prouinces of Calile, where he ioyned himselfe vnto the captaine John de Ampudia, who had sent him to discouer another way, dooing both of them great outrages, and much mischiefe vnto the inhabitants of the countrie where they became. And the said John de Ampudia came vnto a Citie, the Cacik and Lorde whereof called Bitacur had caused to make certaine ditches to defende himselfe, and there fell into the same two horses, the one of Antonie Rodondos, the other of Marc Marquesis. That of Marcos Marquis died, the other not. For which cause the said Ampudia commaunded to take all the Indians men and women that might be: And therupon tooke & laid together more then an hundred persons, whome they cast aliue into those ditches and slue them, and brent withal more then an hundred houses in the said citie. And in that maner met in a great Citie, where without sommoning (the Indians being at peace, and without anye spokesman to goe betweene them,) they slue with their speares a great number of them, making on them mortall warre. And as it is said, soone after they were met, the saide Ampudia tolde the Captame what hee had done in Bitaco, and howe hee cast so many into the ditches: and the sayd captaine aunswered, that it was well done, and that he for his part had done as much at the riuer of Bamba when hee entred the same, which is in the Prouince of Quito, and that hee had slong into the ditches moe then two hundred persons, and there they stayed warring on all the countrie. Soone after hee entred into the Prouince of Bitu, or Anzerma: in making cruell warre with fire and blood till they

came

rnie as farre as vnto the salt houses. And from thence hee sent Frauncis Garcia before him to pillaage, who made cruel warre on the naturall inhabitants of the Countrie as hee had done before him. The Indians came vnto him two and two, making signes, that they demaunded peace on the behalfe of the whole Countrie: alleadging that they woulde afoord him, all that hee coulde reasonably demaund, were it golde, or women, or victuals, only that they woulde not kill them, as indeede it was a troth. For themselues afterwardes confessed it to be so. But the saide Frauncis Garcia, bid them get them packing: Telling them moreouer that they were a sort of drunkardes, and that he vnderstood them not, and so returned hee to the place where the saide Captaine was, and they made a complot, to ouerrunne all the Prouince, making cruell warre on all the Countrie, in spoiling, robbing, and slaying all: and with the souldiers, which hee brought with him newe thence moe then two thousand soules, and all those dyed in the chaine. Before departing the place which he had peopled, they slue moe then fiue hundred persons. And so returned to the Prouince of Calili. And by the way if any Inde or Indesse were weary, in such sort that they could not passe any further, they did incontinently head them, paring it off from the shoulders euen with the chaine, to the ende not to take the paines to open the locke thereof: and to the end that others which went the same way shoulde not make wise to be sicke, and by this meanes dyed they all: and in the high wayes were lefte all those people which he made his purchase of out of Quito, & of Pasto, and of Quilla Cangua, and of Para, and of Popayan, and of Lili, and of Cali, and of Anzerma, and a great number of people dyed. Also immediately vpon their returne vnto the great Citie, they entred into it, slaying all that they could: taking in that day moe then three hundreth persons.

Hee sent from the Prouince of Lili, the saide Captaine Iohn de Ampudia, with very many souldiers vnto the lodgyngs and peopled places of Lili: to the ende that they shoulde take all the Indes and Indesses they coulde: And that they shoulde bring them vnto him to serue for loadyng:

for

for because that al those which he brought him before time from Anzerma & from Alli, were dead, whiche were great numbers. And the saide Iohn de Ampudia brought moe then a thousande persons, and slue very many. The captaine thus tooke as many as he needed to serue his turne, and gaue the rest vnto the souldiers, which confined them to the chayne in whiche they dyed. So dispeopling the said citie of Spaniardes and inhoynes of the countrie, both in so great a number, as appeareth by the fewnesse of the folke that are remanent: he departed thence to goe to Popayan, & left in the way a Spaniarde named Martine Aguirr, who was not able to follow the rest. And beeing come to Popayan, he placed there a garrison, and began to root out and rob those Indians there, in the order that he had kept elswhere. And hee erected there a mynt royall, melting all the golde hee coulde come by, with all that, that Iohn de Ampudia had before he came vnto him, and without keeping any other audit or reckoning, and without giuing any part to any souldier, taking the whole to his owne vse, except a little as came in his head to giue vnto such as had lost theyr horses. And this done, bereauing the kings Maiestie of his fift part, said he went to Cusco, there to giue in his account and audit vnto the gouernour. But in deede he went to Quito, taking by the way very many Indians, men and women, which all dyed by the way, or at the place at Quito. Ouer and besides that, he altered the coyne royall of the mynt, which he had made. Here is to be remembred a word, which this man spake of himselfe, as one not ignorant of so many euils and mischiefes, which he wrought. Fiftie yeres hence, those the which shall passe by this way, and heere speake of these things, shall say, This way went a Tyrant

Your highnes may know and be well assured, that these entries and assaults made vnto these realmes, and this maner of visiting the Indians, which liued in securitie in their regions, and the vngraciousnesse which he did in those same, haue been practised and executed by the Spaniards, which haue alwayes followed the same traine and maner of doing, from the time that they first began to discouer vnto this present day, throughout all the Indies.

To the Reader.

AMong diuers the remedies by Fryar *de las Casas* Bishop of the royal towne called *Chiapa*, propounded in the assembly of sundrie prelates named Parsons, by his maiesties cõmandement gathered together in the towne of *Valladolid* the yeere of our Lord 1542 for order and reformation to bee obserued in the Indies: the eight in order was this insuing, which consisteth vpon twentie reasons & motions, whereupõ he did cõclude, *That the Indies ought not to be giuen to the Spaniardes in Commendam, fee farme, or vasselage, neither vnder any other title whatsoeuer: if his maiestie will according to his desire ease them of such tyrannies and losses as they doe susteine, deliuering them as it were out of the Dragons throate: least they doe wholy consume and slay thẽ, & so all that world remaine desart & voide of the naturall inhabitants, wherewith we haue seene it replenished.*

THe eight remedie, is among all other principall and most in force, as without which all the rest are to no purpose, for that they all haue relation therunto, as euery motion to his proper end, in whatsoeuer toucheth or is of any importance vnto your Maiestie, which no man can expresse: in as much as therupon dependeth at the least the whole losse or preseruation of the Indies. And the remedie that I speake of is this, that your Maiestie do determin, decree, cõmand, & solẽnely in your soueraigne courts ordein by pragmaticall sãctions & royal statuts þ all the Indies aswell alreadie subdued, as hereafter to bee subdued, may bee inserted, reduced, and incorporate into the royal crowne of *Castile & Leon*, to be holden in chief of your maiestie as free subiects & vassals, as they are. Likewise that they bee not giuen in *commendã* vnto the Spaniards: but that it stand as an inuiolable constitution, determination and royall lawe, that they neuer, neither at this time, neither hereafter in time to come, may bee

alienated or taken from the ſaide royall crówn, neither that they bee giuen, commanded, demiſed in fee farme, by depoſt, commandement or alienatiō, either vnder any other title or maner what ſoeuer, and bee diſmembred from the royall crowne, for any whatſoeuer the ſeruice or deſart of any, either vpon any neceſſitie that may happen, or for any cauſe or colour whatſoeuer that may be pretended. For the inuiolable obſeruation, or eſtabliſhement of which law, your maieſtie ſhall formally ſweare by your faith, and on your worde and royall crowne, and by all other ſacred thinges, whereby Chriſtian Princes doe vſually ſweare, that at no time neither your ſelfe, neither your ſucceſſours in theſe 10. Dominions, or in the Indies ſo farre as in you ſhall lie, ſhal reuoke the ſame: and you ſhall further ſet downe in expreſſe wordes in your royall will and teſtament, that this decree be euer kept, mainteined, and vpholden: alſo that ſo farre as in your ſelf or in them ſhal lie, they ſhall cōfirme and continue the ſame: And for poroſe of the neceſſitie hereof, there bee twentie reaſons to be alleadged: out of which twentie we haue drawen and put in writing ſo many as may ſeeme to ſerue to our purpoſe.

Extract out of the ſecond reaſon.

THe Spaniardes through their great auarice and couetouſnes to get, doe not permit any religious perſons to enter into their townes and holdes which they poſſeſſe, alleadging that they receiue double loſſe by them. One and the principall is, that religious perſons do keepe the Indies occupied when they gather them togethar to their Sermons, ſo as in the meane time their worke is omitted, while the Indians being idle, labour not: yea, it hath ſo fallen out, that the Indians being in the Church at the Sermon, the Spaniarde comming in in the face of all the people, hath taken fiftie, or a hundred, or ſo many as he hath needed to carry his baggage and ſtuffe, and ſuch as would not goe, he hath loden with ſtripes ſpurning them foorth with his feete, thereby to the great griefe both of the Indians and of the religious perſons troubling & moleſting all that were preſent, & ſo defeating thē al of the benefit of their ſaluatiō. Their other hinderance that

they

they ſay they doe ſuſteine, is, that after the Indians are taught & become Chriſtians, they take vppon them as maſters, pretending more knowledge then they haue, & therefore will not be ſo ſeruiceable as afore.

The Spaniards require no more of the Indians but authority to commaund them, and that they worſhip them as Gods.

The Spaniards openly and of ſet purpoſe, do hinder the courſe of the goſpel, and keepe the Indians from Chriſtendome.

Sometime it falleth ſo out, that a towne or borow is giuen betweene three or foure Spaniardes, to one more, to another leſſe, ſo as ſometime one hath for his portion the huſband, another the wife, and the third the childrē, as they were ſwine. Thus doe they poſſeſſe the Indians. One appointeth them to labour a peece of lande: another ſendeth them to the mines loaden like beaſtes: another hyreth them by two and two as they were moyles to carry burdens thirtie, fortie, fiftie, a hundred or two hundred miles out right. And this haue we ſeen to be a daily vſe: heereof commeth, it that the Indians cannot heare Gods word, or bee inſtructed in Chriſtian faith: they make them of free mē very ſtrange bondſlaues. They haue ſubuerted and diſperſed great townes, and a whole worlde of people, ſo as they haue not left any houſes ſtanding together, no not ſo much as the children with the fathers. The Spaniards make no more account, neither haue any more regard of conuerting the Indians, then if al thoſe reaſonable ſoules ſhould periſhe with the bodies, and were not hereafter to receiue immortall life, glory, or paine, no more then beaſtes.

Out of the thirde reaſon.

THe Spaniards are charged to inſtruct the Indians in our holy catholike faith: whereupon on a time when we examined *Iohn Colmenere of S. Marthe*, a fantaſtical, ignorant, and fooliſh man, who had gotten a great towne in *commendam*, and had a charge of ſoules, he could not tell how to bleſſe himſelfe: and asking him what doctrine he taught the Indians cōmitted to his charge, he ſaid, he gaue thē to the diuell: alſo that it was enough

for him to say *Per signum sanctæ Crucis*. Howe can the Spaniardes that trauaile to the Indies, howe noble or valiant so euer they bee, haue any care of the soules, when the most of them are ignorant of their Creede and ten commandements, & know not the matters perteining to their owne saluation, neither doe trauaile to the Indies for any other purpose but to satisfie their owne desires and couetous affections, being for the most Parte vicious, corrupt, vnhoneſt, and disordinate persons: so as he that would way them in an equal ballance, & compare them with the Indians, shoulde finde the Indians without comparison, more vertuous and holy then them. For the Indians what infidels soeuer they bee, doe neuertheleſſe keepe them to one and their own wife, as nature and necessitie teacheth, and yet we see some Spaniarde haue foureteene or more, which Gods commandementes do forbid. The Indians deuoure no mans goods, they doe no man wrong: they doe not vexe, trouble, or slay any, where themselues doe see the Spaniardes commit all sinnes, iniquities, and treacheries, that man can commit against all equitie and iustice. To bee briefe, the Indians doe not beleeue any thing, but doe mocke at all that is shewed them of God, beeing in trueth fully rooted in this opinion of our God, that he is the worst, the most vniust, and the most wicked of all Gods, because he hath such seruants: also concerning your maiestie, they thinke you the most vniust and cruell of all kinges, because you doe both sende thither and keepe heere such euill subiectes, supposing that your maiestie doth feed vpon humane flesh and blood. We know these things to be very new and strange to your highnes, but yet there they be very vsuall and auncient. Many like matters which with our eyes we haue seene, might we speake of, but they would be offensiue to your maiesties eares, and would besides feare men, forcing thē to wonder that euer God staied so long from plaging Spaine in the bottomleſſe pit. This title, to giue the Indians to the Spaniards *in cōmedā*, was neuer inuented to any other end but only to finde occasion to bring them into bondage. One Spaniard beeing Lorde, or hauing the charge of some towne or village, will do more harme by his example and wicked life, then a hundred good religious persons can do good by edifiyng or conuerting.

One

Out of the fourth reaſon.

THe Spaniardes hauing authoritie to commaunde, or particular intereſt in the Indies, can not by reaſon of their great couetouſnes abſtaine from afflicting, troubling, diſquieting, vexing, or oppreſſing the Indians, taking away their goodes, landes, wiues, or children, and vſing among them many other kindes of iniquitie, for the which they can haue no redreſſe, ſanction, or warrant at your Maieſties chiefe iuſtice, becauſe the Spaniardes doe make them afraide: yea ſometimes doe kill them, leaſt they ſhoulde complaine, as wee haue had certaine notice: and therevpon it is euident, that they can haue no reſt or quiet, to tende to matters pertaining God, but doe ſuſtaine a thouſande lets, anguiſhes, tormentes, ſorowes, afflictions, heauineſſes, and cares, hating your Maieſtie, and abhorring Gods lawe, which they finde ſo heauie, bitter, and intollerable: as alſo your Maieſties yoke and dominion ſo inſupportable, tyrannous, worthie to bee reiected and caſt off, that they curſe God and fall into deſperation, attributing to him all the aforeſaide euils, becauſe that vnder the colour and title of his lawe, they do receiue ſuch miſhappes, which hee doth beare withall, and doth not correct or chaſtice thoſe which boaſting to be his ſeruanntes, doe put them to all this. They doe night and day mourne after their gods, thinking them to bee better then ours at whom they ſuſtaine ſuche harmes, while contrarywiſe of their owne they reape there ſo many commodities: and there is nothing that troubleth them ſo much as the Chriſtians.

Out of the fifth reaſon.

VVE can ſhewe to your Maieſtie, that the Spaniardes haue within 38. or 40. yeeres ſlaine of iuſt accompt, aboue 12. Millions of your ſubiectes: I will not ſay howe mightily this worlde of people migh haue multiplied. This countrey

being the fertileſt, whether for cattel, or mankinde, that is in the worlde: the ſoile being for the moſt part, more temperate and fauourable to humaine generation. All theſe iunumerable perſons, and all theſe people haue the Spaniards ſlaine, to the end to beare ſway, gouerne, & cõmaund ouer the reſt: & when in iniuſt wars they haue ſlaine them, then doe they vſe the reſt, who iuſtly haue withſtood them, in drawing gold & ſiluer, yoking them together like beaſts, to make them carry their burdens, hiring thẽ & burdening them with all that they can gaine, and liue or die it is all one to them, ſo that they may reape any benefite or coine. I ſpeak but the truth, and yet do leaue out much vnſpoken of that all the world knoweth: and whoſoeuer woulde otherwiſe perſwade your Maieſtie, or would endeuour to excuſe thoſe offences, wee will euen by force of the truth, driue him to knowledge him ſelfe guilty of treaſon, & that he is partaker in theſe murders & roberies committed in the Indies, or els hopeth ſo to be.

What plague of peſtilence, or mortalitie could there haue fallen from heauen that had been able to conſume or make waſt aboue 2500. leagues of flat countrey, repleniſhed with people, and would not haue left either trauailer or inhabitant?

Out of the ſixt reaſon.

THe Spaniardes only for their temporall commoditie, haue blemiſhed the Indies with the greateſt infamie, that any man euen among the moſt horrible and villanous perſons in the world, could be charged withal, & whereby they haue ſought to take thẽ out of the degree of mankinde: namely that they all were polluted with the abhominable ſinne againſt nature: which is a wretched and falſe ſlaunder. For in all the great Iles, *Hiſpaniola*, *S. Iohn*, *Cuba*, & *Lamaica*: Alſo in the 60. Iles of Lucayos, whiche were inhabited with a infinite nomber of people, the ſame was neuer thought vpon, or once mentioned, as our ſelues can teſtifie, who made diligent inquiſition & ſearch, euen from the beginning. Moreouer, through all Peru, there is no ſuch ſpeach, neither is there any one Indiã throughout ỹ whole realm of Yucatã ſpotted with that crime, neither generally throughout all the Indies, ſauing that in ſome other part there is a voice of a few: for whoſe ſakes neuertheles all that world is not to be condemned. We may ſay as much of the eating of mans fleſh, which likewiſe

thoſe places that I haue named are free of: although that in o-
ther places they do it in deed. They be alſo charged with their i-
dolatrie, as if for being idolaters, men ſhould take vpon them to
puniſh them, & not referre them to God only, againſt whō they
ſin, whiles they haue both lands & dominions ſeuerall to them
ſelues, which they hold not of any other thē their natural Lords:
beſides that our anceſters were alſo idolaters before the faith
was preached vnto them, & that all the world was gathered to
Chriſt. The Spaniardes haue purpoſely, & effectually hindered
the teaching of the law of God and Ieſus Chriſt: with all other
vertues among the Indians, & driuen away the religious perſons
out of townes and fortreſſes, leaſt they ſhoulde ſee and diſcloſe
their tyrannies: yea, they haue by their euill example, infected &
corrupted the Indians, teaching them many odious behauiours
and vices, which before they knew not, as blaſpheming the name
of Ieſus Chriſt, practiſing of vſerie, lying, & many other abhomi-
nations wholy repugnant to their nature. Again, to commit the
Indians to the Spaniards, or to leaue them in their handes, is vn-
doubtedly as much as to giue or leaue them to theſe that will
deſtroy & bring them to nought, as well in body as ſoule.

The Spaniards hauing fraudulently perſwaded K. Ferdinand, he
ſuffered the Indians to be trāſported out of the Iles of Lucayos
into Hiſpaniola, and ſo contrary to all reaſon, either naturall or
diuine, diſpoſſeſſed them of their own houſes and lands, wherby
there periſhed aboue 500000. ſoules: ſo as in aboue 50. Iles, where of
ſome were greater then the Ile of Canary, which before were re-
pleniſhed with people as an Ante heape, afterward there were to
be found not aboue eleuen perſons, as our ſelues can teſtifie. To
let your Maieſtie vnderſtand the goodnes and vpright dealing of
the inhabitants of the ſaide Ilandes called Lucayos: alſo of the
ſlaughters, cruelties, and ſpoyles that the Spaniardes, theſe good
chriſtians made among them, wee might make your royall eares
to gloe, and your bowels to lament, and ſo your ſelſe to depart.
That the Spaniardes haue warred vpon the Indians, that they
haue killed them, taken away their wiues, children, frindes, and
kindred: alſo that they haue robbed them of all their goodes,

is alreadie ſufficiently proued, as alſo the countrey being vtterly diſpeopled and deſert, doeth ſhewe it: the worlde crieth out vpon it: the Angels doe bewaile it, and God himſelfe doth dayly teach it vs by the great puniſhments that he layeth vpon vs.

Out of the ſeuenth reaſon.

THe Spaniardes doe ſucke from the Indians the whole ſubſtaunce of their bodies, becauſe they haue nothing elſe in their houſes. They make them ſpitte blood: They exhibite them to all daungers: They lay vpon them ſundrie and intollerable trauailes: and more then al this, They loade them with torments, beatings, and ſorowings: To be briefe, they ſpoile and conſume a thouſande maner of waies.

To put the Indians into the Spaniardes handes, is, to giue the childes throate to a frantick and mad man when he hath the raſor in his hande: or it is as much as to deliuer men into the power of the furious or capitall enemies, who long time haue verye deſirouſly wayted to put them to death. It is as a man ſhoulde commit a faire young virgin to the guiding of a young man ſnared, tranſported, and doting in her loue, whereby ſhee ſhoulde be ſpoiled and deflowred, vnleſſe ſhee were miraculouſly preſerued. To be briefe, it were as good to throwe them among the hornes of wilde Bulles, eyther to deliuer them vnto hunger ſtarued Wolues, Lions, and Tygres, and as much good ſhoulde they getте by any lawes, preceptes, or threates made to the ſaide hungrie beaſtes, for the forbidding of them to deuoure them, as much do we ſay and affirme will any lawes, threates, or preceptes, ſtay the Spaniardes, when they haue authoritie ouer the Iodians from murdering them for their golde. Yea by great and long experience that we haue, wee doe certifie your highneſſe, that notwithſtanding you ſhoulde commaunde to ſet vp a Gibbet before euery Spaniardes gate, and ſweare by your Crowne, that for the firſt Iodian that ſhoulde be miſſed or ſlain, you woulde haue them all hanged, yet would they not for feare thereof abſtaine from ſlaying the Indians, in caſe your Maieſtie ſhould graunt or giue them ſupreme power and authoritie ouer them,

them, or otherwise howsoeuer.

Out of the eight reason.

BEsides all that the Indians doe indure in seruing and pleasing the Spaniarde, there is yet a butcher or cruell hangman, to keepe them in awe appointed in euery towne and place, and is tearmed *Estanciero* or *Calpisque*: who hath authoritie to lay his clawes vpon them, and to make them labour, and doe what the Lorde Commaunder, or chiefe thiefe will. So as if in hell there were no other torment, yet were this incomparable. This hangman whippeth them, hee ladeth them with stripes, hee basteth them with scalding grease, he afflicteth them with continuall tormentes and trauelles, he forceth & deflloureth their daughters and wiues, dishonouring and abusing them: hee deuoureth their hennes whiche are their greatest treasure, not because them selues doe eate them, but that of them they offer presents and seruice to their greatest Lorde and chiefe tyrant: hee vexeth them with innumerable other tormentes and griefes: & least they shoulde complaine of so many iniuries and miseries, this tyrant putteth them in feare, saying: that he will accuse them, and say that he see them commit idolatrie. To be briefe, they must please and content aboue twentie disordinate and vnreasonable persons: so as they haue foure Lordes and maisters. Your Maiestie, their Cacique, him that hath them in commendam, and the *Estanciero* of whom I last spake, whiche *Estanciero* is to them more grieuous to beare then a quintall of lead, among which we may also in truth adde all the *Mochachos* and *Mores*, that do serue the commander and master, for they al do molest, oppresse, and robbe these poore people.

Out of the tenth reason.

IT is greatly to be feared, least God will lay Spain desolate, euen for those horrible sinnes that this nation hath comitted in the Indies, whereof we do euidently beholde the scorge, and all the world doth see & confesse that already it hageth ouer our heads, wherwith God doth afflict & shew that he is highly offended in those parts through the great destruction and wast of those nations, in that of so great treasures as haue bin transported out of the

Indies into Spaine (the like quantitie of golde and siluer, neyther K. Salomõ, neither any other worldly prince euer had, sawe, or heard of) there is none left, besids ꝑ of that that was here before the Indies were discouered, there is nowe none to be foũd, no neuer a whit. Hereof it commeth that thinges are thrise dearer then they were, the poore that haue want doe suffer great miseries: and your maiestie can not dispatch matters of great importaunce.

Out of the eleuenth reason.

SO long as Lares bare sway and ruled, that was ix. yeeres, there was no more care of teaching or bringing the Indians to saluation, neither was there any more labour employed, or once thought of, to that purpose, then if they had been trees, stones, dogges, or cats. He wasted great townes and fortresses, hee gaue to one Spaniard 100. Indians, to another fiftie, to another more or lesse, as euery man was in liking or fauour, and as it pleased him to graunt. He gaue children, & old men, women with child, and in childbed, men of countenance and commons, the naturall Lords of the townes and countreys, he parted them among those to whom he wished most wealth and commoditie, vsing in his letters of commaund this speech following: *To you such a man, are giuen so many Indians with their Cacique, them to vse in your mines and affayres.* So as all, great and small, young and olde, that could stand on their feete, men, women with childe, or in childbed, one or other, trauailed and wrought so long as they had any breath in their bodies. He gaue leue to take away maried men, and to make them drawe golde, ten, twentie, thirtie, fourty, or eightie leagues, or farther. The women remayned in farme houses and graunges, in great labours about gathering of great heapes for the making of the bread that they doe eate, which is, to heape together the earth whiche they doe digge, and rayse foure handfull hie, and twelue foote square, that is a gaunts labour, namely to digge the hard earth, not with mattockes or shouels, but with [illegible]. In other places they spinde cotten, and doe such other worke, as are most meete for gaine and raysing of

coyne,

coyne, so that the man and wife should not see one another in 8. or 10. monethes or a whole yere. And at their meeting they were so worne with labour and hunger, that they had no minde of cohabitation, whereby their generation ceased, & their poore children perished, because the mothers through hunger and trauaile had no milke wherewith to nourish them: This was a cause that in the Ile of Cuba, one of vs being there, there perished in the space of three moneths for hunger 7000. children, some desperate women strangled and killed their owne children, others finding themselues with childe, did eate certaine hearbes thereby to loose their fruit, so that the men died in the mines, the women perished in the farme houses, their whole generatiō in a short space decayed, and all the countrey lay desolate. The saide gouernour, to the ende without release to keepe them in continuall labour, still gaue them away, and yet besides their great labours he suffered them rigorously, & very austerely to be misused. For the Spaniardes that had them in commaund, appointed certaine hangmen ouer them, some in the mines whom the termed Miniero, other in the farmes, that were called Estanciero: vnnaturall and pitilesse persons that beate them with staues and cords, boxing them, pricking them with needles, and still calling them dogs: neither did they euer shewe any signe of humanitie or clemencie, but all their dealings did consist of extreame seueritie, rigor, and bitternesse, so as in troth it might be thought great crueltie so to entreat or gouerne the verie Moores, being the cruellest of all others, for all the damage that they haue done to the Christians: where the Indians are more treatable, curteous, gentle, and obedient, then any other nation in the worlde. Farther, when because of these Estancieros and Minieros, together with such labours as they put them vnto, some of them fled into the mountaines, as making full accompt to bee killed, the Spaniardes chose certayne officers whō they termed *Alguazil del Campo*, that shoulde pursue and hunt them out of the mountaines.

The gouernour had also in the Spanish townes and fortes, certayne of the moste honourable and principall persons

about him whome hee called Visitors, vnto whome also beside their other ordinarie portions that he had giuen them, he gaue in respect of their offices 100. Indians to serue them. These in the townes were the greatest executioners, as being more cruel then the rest, before whom *Athuaziles del camoo* brought all suche as had bin taken in this chase. The accuser, hee that had them in commaund, was present, and accused them, saying: *This Indian or those Indians are dogs, & wil do no seruice, but do day'y run to the mountaines, there to become loyterers & vagabounders*: And therfore required they might be punished. Then the visitor with his own hands boũd thẽ to a pale, & taking a pitched cord, in the Gallies called an Eele, which is as it were an iron rod, gaue them so many stripes, & bet them so cruelly, that the blood running downe diuers parts of their bodies, they were left for dead. God is witnesse of the cruelties committed among those lambs: I am perswaded that of the thousãd part I can not rehearse one, neither can any other tell it as it ought. The labour that they were put vnto, was to drawe golde, whereto they had need haue men of iron. For they must turne the mountaines 1000. times ypside dowoe, digging and hewing the rockes, and washing, and clensing the gold it selfe in the riuers, where they shall continually stand in the water vntill they brust, and rent their bodies eũe in pieces. Also whẽ the Mines peraduẽture doe flow with water, then must they also besides all other laboures, drawe it out with their armes. To be briefe, the better to comprehend the labour that is emploid about gathering golde and siluer, it may please your Maiestie to consider, that the heathen Emperours (except to death) neuer condemned the Martyres to greater tormentes, then to mining for metrall: sometimes they were kept a whole yeere at the mines: but afterward perceiuing howe manie perished there, they decreed that they mine for golde but fiue moneths, which was fourtie dayes in melting, during which time they tooke some rest.

And what was their rest? They during those fourtie dayes, made heapes of that which they shoulde eate, that is, they digged the earth, and cast it on heapes as is aforesaide, whiche labour doeth exceede, dressing of vines, or tilling of the earth.

Through-

Throughout the yere they neuer knew holiday, neither might be suffered from labour little or much. Besides that during all this toyle, they neuer had sufficient food, no not of *Cassabi* whiche is the common countrie bread, and being made of rootes doth but smally nourish except there be some fish or flesh to eate withal. Moreouer, they gaue them of that countrie pepper, and *Aies*, which be rootes like vnto nauetes, rosted or sodden. But some Spaniarde, peraduenture meaning to seeme liberall in their diet woulde weekely kill a hogge for 50. *Indians*, whereof the *Alinier o* would consume two quarters, and part the other two among the *Indians*, giuing daily to euery man as great a peece as the *Iacekins* doe giue of holy bread in their Churches. Some there were that through nigardlinesse wanting meate to giue them, woulde send them two or three dayes abroade into the fieldes and mountaines, to seed where they might satisfie themselues with such fruite as hang on the trees, and then vppon the force of that which they brought in their guttes, woulde force them to labour two or three dayes more without giuing them any one morsell to eate. For the loue of God therefore, let your Maiestie thinke what substance or strength those bodies naturally so delicate and feeble, and nowe almost consumed and oppressed with these trauailes, could gather of this food: also how it were possible for those that liued so sorowfull, heauie and woeful a life, in such labour without food shoulde liue long. The gouernour commanded they shoulde bee paide their day wages and expences for any labour or seruice that they shoulde doe to the Spaniarde, and their wages was three blanckes euery two dayes, whiche in the yeere amounted to halfe a *Castelin*, that is worth 225 *Marmedies*: wherewith they might buye a Combe, a looking glasse, and a paire of blew or greene beades. Yea, many yeeres they had nothing at all paide them, but hunger and stripes did so abound, that the *Indians* regarded none of this, neither sought any more but euen once to get a good meales meat, or to die for all, as wishing to forsake so desperate a life. He deprined them of their libertie, suffering the Spaniards to keepe them in such bitter bondage and prison as no man that had seene it, would or coulde once thinke for: not leauing them any thing in this worlde free

to vse at their pleasures: yea, notwithstanding the beastes haue some time rest, and bee suffered to feede abrode in the fieldes, yet woulde not these Spaniards that we speake of, graunt the Indians any time or leasure so to doe: but the gouernour himselfe would force them to an obsolute, perpetuall, forced, & vnwilling bondage. For they neuer had their freewil to do any thing at al of themselues, because the Spaniards couetousnes, crueltie and tyrannie, was still forcing them to some labour, not as captiues, but as beasts, that are led bound to do whatsoeuer man will appoint. Againe, if at any time they were suffered to depart to their houses to rest them, then should they there find neither wife, children, nor food: as also although they had there found any meat, yet should they not haue had time to make it readie: so that there was no remedie but death. Thus grew they into sicknes through long and grieuous trauailes, and that was soner caught among thé as being (as is aforesaid) of a very delicate and tender cõplection, & much against their nature it was to be thus sodenly, contrary to their wont, & vnmercifully put to such labours, & to be beaté with staues, & spurned at, besides the calling of thé at euery word *Villacos*, & vpbraiding thé, that they counterfeated sickneſse like loytering losels, because they would not labour. When the Spaniards perceiued the sicknes increase, so as there was no profit or seruice to be looked for at their hands, then would they send thé home to their houses, giuing thé to spend in some 30. 40. or 80. leagues trauaile, some halfe dosen of Radish or *Reportes*, that is a kinde of nauet roote, & a little *Cacubi*, wherewith the poore men trauailed not far before they sho'd desperately die, som went 2 or 3. leagues, some 10, or 20. so desirous to get to their owne home there to finish their hellish life that they suffered, that they enẽ fel down dead by the waies: so as, many times we haue foũd som dead, others at deaths doore, others groning & pitifully to their powers pronouncing this word, *hunger, hunger*. Then the gouernour seeing that the Spaniard had in this wise slaine, half or two 3. parts of these Indians, whõ he had giuen them in commaund, he came a fresh to drawe new lottes, and make a newe distribution of Indians: still supplying the number of his first gift, and this did hee almost euery yeere.

Pedrarias

Pedrarias entred into the firme land, as a wolfe that had long beene ſtarued doth into a flocke of quier and innocent ſheepe & lambs; & as Gods wrath and ſcourge, committing infinit ſlaughters, robberies, oppreſſions & cruelties, together with thoſe Spaniards whom he had leuied, and laid waſt ſo many townes and villages, which before had bin repleniſhed with people, as it were ant hilles, as the like was neuer ſeene, heard of, or written by any that in our dayes haue delt in hiſtories. Hee robbed his maieſtie & ſubiects with thoſe whom he tooke with him, and the harme that he did amounted to aboue four, yea, fiue millions of gold: he laid aboue 40. leagues of land deſart, namely from *Darien*, where he firſt arriued vnto the prouince of *Nicaragua*, one of the fruitfulleſt, richeſt and beſt inhabited lands in the world. From this curſed wretch ſprang firſt the peſtilence of giuing the Indians in commaund, which afterward hath infected al thoſe Indies where any Spaniards doe inhabite, and by whom all theſe nations are conſumed: ſo that from him and his commandes, haue proceeded the certaine waſte and deſolation that your maieſtie haue ſuſteined in theſe ſo great lands and dominions ſince the yeere 1504.

When we ſhall ſay that the Spaniards haue waſted your maieſties, and laid you deſolate ſeuen kingdomes bigger then Spaine, you muſt conceaue that we haue ſeene the̅ wonderfully peopled, and now there is no body left, becauſe the Spaniards haue ſlaine all the naturall inhabitants by meanes aforeſaid, and that of the townes & houſes there remaineth only the bare walles: euen as if Spaine were all diſpeopled, and that all the people being dead, there remained only the walles of cities, townes and caſtles.

Out of the 13. reaſon.

YOur maieſtie haue not ſouls at the Indies one marvedie of certaine perpetuall & ſetrent, but the whole reuenewes are as leaues and ſtraw gathered vpon the earth, which beeing once gathered vp do grow no more: Euen ſo in all the rent that your maieſtie hath in the Indies, vain & of as ſmal cõtinuãce as a blaſt of wind, & ꝑ proceedeth only of ꝑ the ſpaniards haue had ꝑ Indians in

in their power: and as they doe dayly slay and rost the inhabitants, so must it necessarilie ensue that your maiesties rights and rentes doe waste and diminishe.

The kingdome of Spaine is in great danger to bee lost, robbed, oppressed and made desolate by forraigne nations, namely by the Turks and Moores, because that God who is the most iust, true, and soueraigne king ouer all the worlde, is wrath for the great sinnes and offences that the Spaniardes haue committed throughout the Indies, by afflicting, oppressing, tyrannous dealings, robbing and slaying such and so many people without law or equititie, and for the wasting of such and so large landes in so short a space, whose inhabitants had reasonable soules, and were created and framed to the image and likenesse of the soueraigne trinitie, and beeing gods vassals, were bought with his most precious blood, who keepeth account, and forgetteth not one of them: but had chosen Spaine as his minister and instrument, to illuminate and bring them to his knowledge, and as it had bin for a worldly recompence, besides the eternal reward, had graunted her so great natural riches, and discovered for her such & so great fruitfull and pleasant landes, and with all such artificial treasure, together with so many incompatable mines of gold, silver, stone, and precious pearle, with infinite other commodities, the like whereof were neuer seene ne heard of: all which notwithstanding, shee hath shewed herselfe so vnthankfull, in yeelding euill for so many benefites which shee had receiued. And God ordinarily vseth this rule in executing his iustice & punishment, that is, that he chastizeth sinne with the same, not with that which is quite contrarie to that wherwith the sinne is committed.

The destructions, griefes, violences, iniuries, cruelties, and murders done and committed against those people, are so great, horrible, publike & euident, that the teates, lamétations & blood of so many innocent persons doe ascende to the high throne of heauen, & doe not returne before they haue sounded in ꝑ very eares of God, from whence they after descend, and straying ouer the face of the earth doe ring in the eares of al forraigne nations, so horrible and inhumaine as may be: wherupon ensueth among

the

Those losses and detrimentes that by these deuises the Crowne of Castile and Leon, together with the rest of Spaine haue sustained, as also such other spoyles and slaughters as hereafter will bee committed throughout the whole Indies, both the blinde shall see, the deafe heare, the dumbe publishe, and the wise shall iudge. Furthermore as much as our life is short, I doe take God to witnesse with all the Hierarchies and Quires of Angels, all the Saints of the heauenly court, and all the men in the world, yea, euen those that shall hereafter bee borne, of the certificate that here I doe exhibite also of this the discharge of my conscience, namely that if his maiestie get much for the Spaniards the aforesaide diuisions and vnreasonable particulars, notwithstanding what bonds, leagues or futures shall bee declared, yet will the Indies in those spacious lands declare and dispose themselues to the seruice of *Hispanola* in action present, which otherwise would bee most fruitfull and feriale: together with other the Lucaye lands aboue 3000. leagues about, besides *Hispanola* itself and other Ilandes both farre and neere. And for those causes, as the holy scripture doth very well informe mee, God will horribly chastize, and peraduenture wholy subuert and root out all Spaine. Anno, 1543.

The Prologue of Bishop Bartholomewe de las Casas or Casaus, to the most mightie Lord and Prince of Spaine, Don Philip our good Lorde.

MOst high and mightie Lorde, of late I was moued and by the kings most vigilant counsaile for the Indies, vpon their zeale and honour that they beare to our Lord God, as also hartie loyaltie

[illegible] wherewith they be adorned for his maiesties seruice, for-
[illegible] in writing, to set downe such matter as to your person by
mouth I haue heretofore reported: namely, what I thought tou-
ching the title and claime that the kings of *Castile* doe make to
the soueraigne and vniuersall principalitie ouer the Indians: not-
withstanding, some did arise, who misliking that I dealt and tra-
uailed with his maiestie and your highnes, about the discon-
tents and losses passed and perfourmed against the people of
those countries, did reported that in as much as I did so far de-
test and with such bitternesse and sharpnes did abhorre them: as
also I will still do so long as I liue, I doe call in doubt, and some
what dimish the said royall title and right.

In which deede, as a testimonie what I did think, and in truth
according as God and his holy lawe doe full hold, I exhibited 30.
propositions deuoid of all other proofe: that what each of them
in it selfe did containe, the one of necessitie following the other,
the which was driuen to send them to his maiestie vnder pretence
of the great counsell that then was holden.

Afterward proceeding and perfecting it desire to serue god by
expelling some mens slanders, who either for want of comprehen-
ding the truth, or els hauing some other purposes & contrarie
meanings, do present vnder a fained and counterfeit kinde of
seruice to the kings (who of themselues naturally are endued with
courteous & simple mindes and hearts, iudging & measuring all
others by themselues) to present vnto them a potion bitter & ex-
treame, a mortall drinke which doth not only waste king-
domes & common wealthes, in procuring their carefull calami-
ties & dolorous destruction: but also doe bring euen the kinges
owne persons to the pit of manifest danger & irreparable detri-
ments and losses. With which fraudulous counsails they doe in-
fect so much as in them lieth, the good & godly affections of kings,
and do subuert all the princes vertuous deuises & studies. Here-
of did sometime that most mightie king *Artaxerxes* otherwise
learned *Assuerus* complaine, as appeareth in the booke of *Hes-
ter*. I haue so indeuoured my selfe (most mightie Lord) that now
I haue set in hand the proofe of the said 30 propositions & some
more, comprehending the whole in this brief summarie, which

is

is taken out of a greater volume, wherein euery title is more
perticulerly expounded: herein setting in sight only the 1. and
2. proposition, because the whole substance of this matter may
be reduced to these two propositions as to the principles & ende.
The title hereof should in my opinion haue been: *A probatorie treatise of the soueraigne Empire, and vniuersal principat which the kinges of Castile haue ouer the Indias.* As presup-
posing that it is manifest & proued, in that the Apostolike sea
hath graunted it, and that there needeth no other opening of the
reasons whereupon the graunt of this empire consisteth.
I purpose in this treatise chiefly to discharge my conscience,
vsing that meane which it seemeth that Gods prouidence hath
appointed me. My great age (for I am aboue 70.) being the cause
of my large knowledge and eye experience of the Indian affaires,
also to giue notice of that which passed in those partes, as also
what was to be done, euer referring my self to the like desire that
the disorders that I haue there seen practised might be redressed.
And the rather because those that hinder this redresse & are most
hurtful to those lads, are such as being denoid of truth & iustice,
do indeuour by counterfeating and mingling that which is false &
vntrue, and withall seeming to doe it for your maiesties seruice,
especially colouring your right to this new worlde, are in truth
altogether withstanders of your seruice & weale, either spiritu-
all or temporall (as euery true christian & wise man wil graunt)
The other benefite that I hope to obteine and reape by this trea-
tise, is, that I shall detect and vnfold those mens errours, who
rashly dare affirme that the right and principalitie of the kinges
of *Castile* ouer the Indians is, or should consist of armes and
great force, entring vpon them euen as *Nemrod* who was
the first hunter and oppressour of mankinde did euer, and esta-
blishe his principalitie, as the holy scripture testifieth: either as
great *Alexander* and the Romans, and all other notable and fa-
mous tyrants, doe lay the foundation of their Empires: also as
the Turke doth nowe adaies inuade, trouble, and oppresse chri-
stendome: and yet haue not any of them once approched the
Spanish tyrannies.
How far those men that [illegible] such a sentence do euill
seruice

seruice, and offend the sincerie and loue of the king of Castile?
iustice, is here very easie to be iudged.

Who for pretose of their matters doe commit error vpon error, and so doe heape together other things both absurd, wicked and vnworthie to bee once heard, from these men which bee taken either for Christians or for reasonable persons. For vsually such as stray from vertue and truth, in excusing one fault, or maintaining one errour, doe runne headlong into many. Others there are that do colour them with fairer & honester tides, who also deserue to be reiected, reproued, & laughed at as those that say, because we haue more wit, or that we border neerest vpon them, either for that the Indians are infected with suche and such vices, we may subdue them: with other like colours wherwith they bee so far from vpholding or confirming that which they weene to strengthen and fortifie, that finally they lay all in the dust. To the end therefore that his maiestie may bee certified of all afore said, and as a most Christiã and iust prince, may discerne betweene the pure and corrupt: also betweene right & wronge, and withall that he may knowe who seruetli him faithfully, and those that hange vppon him only to satisfie their owne affections, and for their priuate profit doe inuent and deuise new tides for his Indies, which be neither probable nor of any effect, & so do hope so come so do their duties before that I were able. Fumbey for that offering this treatise to your highnes, his maiestie shall be serued thereby, sith himself shall haue such letters there as he goeth, I doe most humbly beseech your highnesse in his name to accept it: also to examine, discerne, and vnderstande it with such wisedome and clemencie as you holde of his maiestie, and as himselfe would doe, seeing it is so, that Gods prouidence hath appointed your highnesse to inherite, as we doe hope the same right in the empire & principalities there besides if it set meete dessary to be published in other places out of this realm I will, if your highnes so command me, put it in latin: & although it should not deserue to be dispersed either in latin or otherwise, yet were not the lesse great in that I caused it to be printed onlie to the end your highnesse might with more ease reade the same, whose glorious life and royall estate, the Lorde increase and prosper, Amen.

The ſumme of the diſputation betweene Fryer Bartlemewe de las Caſas or Caſaus, and *Doctor Sepulueda*,

DOctor Sepulueda the Emperors chronographer hauing information, & being perſwaded by certayne of theſe Spaniardes, who were moſt guiltie in the ſlaughters and waſtes committed among the Indian people, wrote a booke in Latine in forme of a Diologue very eloquently, and furniſhed with all floures, and precepts of Rhetoricke, as in deede the man is verie learned and excellent in the ſaide tongue, which booke conſiſted vpon two principall concluſions: The one, that the Spaniardes warres againſt the Indians, were as concerning the cauſe and equitie that moued thē thereto, very iuſt: alſo that generally the like war may & ought to be cōtinued. His other concluſion, that the Indians are bound to ſubmitte them ſelues to the Spaniards gouernment, as the fooliſhe to the wiſe: if they will not yeelde, then that the Spaniards may (as he affirmeth) warre vpon them. Theſe are the two cauſes of the loſſe and deſtruction of ſo infinite numbers of people: alſo that aboue 2000. leagues of the maine lande, are by ſundrie newe kindes of Spaniſh cruelties and inhumaine dealinges bin lefte deſolate in the Ilands: namely by conqueſtes and commaundes as he nowe nameth thoſe which were wont to be called Partitions.

The ſayde Doctor Sepulueda coloureth his treatiſe, vnder the pretence of publiſhing the title which the kinges of Caſtile and Leon doe chalenge in the gouernment and vniuerſall ſoueraignetie of this Indian world, ſo ſeeking to cloake that doctrine which he endeuoureth to diſperſe and ſcatter as well in theſe lands, as alſo throughout the kingdomes of the Indians. This booke he exhibited to the royall counſaile for the Indies, very earneſtly and importunately lying vpon them for licence to print it, which they ſundry times denied him in reſpect of the offence, dangers, & manifeſt detriment, that it ſeemed to bring to the common-

wealth.

The Doctour seeing that heere hee coulde not publishe his booke, for that the counsaile of the Indies woulde not suffer it, he delte so farre with his friendes whiche followed the Emperours court, that they gotte him a patente, whereby his Maiestie directed him to the royall counsayle of Castile, who knewe nothing of the Indian affaires: vpon the comming of these letters the court and counsaile being at Aranda in Duero, the yeere 1547. Fryer Bartholomewe de las Casas or Casaus, Bishoppe of the royall towne of Chiapa, by happe arriued there, comming from the Indians, and hauing intelligence of Doctor Sepulueda his drifte and deuise, had notice also of the contentes of his whole booke: but vnderstanding, the authours pernitious blindnes, as also the irrecouerable losses that might ensue vpon the printing of this booke, with might & maine withstood it, discouering & reuealing the poyson wherewith it abounded, and whereto it pretended.

The Lordes of the royall counsell of Castile, as wise and iust iudges, determined therefore to sende the sayde booke to the Vniuersities of Salamanca & Alcala, the matter being for his most part therein Theologically handled, with commaundement to examine it, and if it might be printed, to signe it: which Vniuersities after many exact and diligent disputations, concluded, that it might not be printed, as contayning corrupt doctrine. The Doctour not so satisfied, but complayning of the Vniuersities aforesayde, determined, notwithstanding so many denialles and repulses at both the royall counsailes, to sende his treatise to his friends at Rome, to the ende there to print it, hauing first transformed it into a certayne Apologie written to the Bishop of Segouia, because the same Bishoppe hauing perused the treatie and booke aforesaide, had brotherly and charitablie as his friende by letters reproued and counsayled him. The Emperor vnderstanding of the impression of the sayde booke and Apologie, did immediatly dispatche his letters patentes, for the calling in and supression of the same, commaunding likewise to gather in agayne all copies thereof throughout Castile, for the said Doctour had published also in the Castilean language a certaine abstract of the saide booke, thereby to make it more common

to

to all the landes and to the ende also that the common, and such as vnderstood no latine, might haue some vse thereof, as being a matter agreeable and toothsome to suche vs coueted greatnesches, and sought wayes to clyme to other estates, then eyther themselues, or their predecessors couldé euer attaine vnto without great cost, labour, and cares, and oftentimes with the losse and destruction of diuers.

Which when the Bishoppe of Chiapa vnderstoode, hee determined also to write an apologie in the vulgar tongue against the saide doctors summarie, in defence of the Indies, therein impugning and vndermining his foundations, and answering all reasons, or whatsoeuer the doctor couldé alleadge for him selfe, therin displaying & setting before the peoples face the dangers, inconueniences and harmes in the sayde doctrine contayned.

Thus as many thinges passed on both sides, his Maiestie in the yeere 1550. called to Valadolid, an assemblie of learned men, as well Diuines as Lawyers, who being ioyned with the Royall counsaile of the Indies should argue, and among them conclude, whether it were lawfull without breach of Iustice, to enie warres, commonly learned conquestes, against the inhabitantes of those conteries, without any newe offence by them committed their infidelitie excepted.

Doctor Sepulueda was summoned to come and say what hee couldé, and being entred the counsayle chamber, did at the first session vtter his whole minde. Then was the sayde Bishoppe likewise called, who for the space of fiue dayes, continually did reade his Apologie: but being somewhat long, the Diuines and Lawyers there assembled, besought the learned and reuerende father Dominicke Soto his Maiesties confessour, and a dominican Fryer, who was there present, to reduce it into a summarie and to make so many copies as there were Lordes, that is fourteene, to the ende they all hauing studied vpon the matter, might afterwarde in the feare of God say their mindes.

The sayde reuerend father and Master Soto, set downe in the saide summarie, the doctors reasons, with the Bishops answeres to the same. Then had the doctour at his request a copie deliuered him to answere: out of whiche Summarie

he gathered twelue against him selfe, whereto hee made twelue answeres, against which answeres the Bishoppe framed twelue replies.

Doctor Sepulueda his prologue to the Lordes of the assemblie.

MOst worthie and noble Lordes, sith your Lordshippes and graces haue as iudges for the space of fiue or sixe dayes heard the Lorde Bishop of Chiapa read that booke, wherein he hath many yeares laboured to gather all the reasons that either himselfe, or others could inuent to proue the conquest of the Indies to be vniust, as seeking first to subdue barbarous nations before we preach the Gospell vnto them, which haue been the vsuall course correspondent to the graunt made by Pope Alexander the sixt, which all kinges and nations haue hetherto taken & obserued: it is meet, and I doe so desire you, that I who take vpon mee to defende the graunt and authoritie of the Apostolike sea, together with the equitie and honour of our kinges and nation, may haue the like graunt, and that it may please you diligently to giue me audience, while briefly and manifestly I do answere his obiections and subtilties: so doe I hope in God, and the trueth which I take vpon me to defende, that I shall plainely set before your eyes, and shew you that all is spoken on the contrarie part before so noble and wise iudges, who are not any way to be suspected of preferring whatsoeuer may be alleaged before truth and equitie which are of such importance, doth consist only vpon friuolous and vayne reasons. I will therefore, cutting off my speech come to the purpose. For it is small honour or curtesie to vse tediousnes among suche persons, beeing occupied in waightie affaires, namely, in the gouernement of the common wealth,

The Bishoppe of Chiapa his prologue to the Lordes of the assemblie.

Most

MOst worthie and noble Lords, right reuerend and learned fathers, hitherto in what soeuer I haue read, or in writing exhibited in this so notable and honourable assemblie, I haue generally spoken against the aduersaries of the Indian enhabitants of our Indies that lie in the Occean sea, not naming any, although I knowe some, who openly doe seeke to write Treaties thereof, and frame their grounde vppon an excuse and defence of suche warres as were, are, and yet may be prosecuted against those people, which haue been the occasions of so muche mischiefe, so many ouerthrowes, losses, and subuersions of suche and so great kingdomes, together with manie townes and infinite numbers of soules. Also that they subduing of those nations by warres before they haue by preaching hearde of the faith or name of Iesus Christe, is a matter conformable to our Christian lawe; also that such warres are iust and lawfull, whereof it seemeth that the reuerende and worthie Doctor Sepulueda hath nowe opened and declared him selfe the principall vpholder and defendour, in that hee answereth to those reasons, authorities, and obiections, that bee to the contrary: which in detesting the saide warres, and to the ende to shewe that the same beeing by another name, called conquestes, are wicked and tyrannous, I haue drawen into this our Apologie whereof I haue read part vnto your excellencies and Lordeshippes.

And seeing hee hath sought to disclose him selfe, and feared not to bee taken for the authour of so exetrable impietie, whiche doe tende vnto the slaunder of the faith, the dishonour of the name of Christianitie, and the damage as well spirituall as temporall of the most part of mankinde: I thought it verie meete, as it is, so openly to impugne it, and for cutting off of the poysoned cancker whiche hee seeketh to disperse abroade in these countreys, to the destruction and subuersion of the same, to set my selfe as an aduersarie and partie against him.

Wherefore I beseech your noble Lordeshippes graces and fatherhoodes, to way this so waightie and daungerous matter, not as any peculiar cause, for I pretende no farther, but to de-

fende it according as becommeth a Christian, but as apperteining to God his honour, the vniuersall Churche, and the estate as well temporall as spirituall of the kinges of Castile, who are to giue accoumpt of the losse of soules alreadie perished, and hereafter to perish, valesse the gate be shutte vp against this beastie course of warres, whiche Doctour Sepulueda endeoureth to iustifie. Also that this honourable assemblie admitte no Sophistrie by him vsed to couer and cloake his hurtfull opinion, whereby hee shieweth a pretence to colour and defende the authoritie by him called Apostolike, and the Empire, whiche the kinges of Castile and Leon haue ouer these Indians. For no Christian can lawefully and honestly confirme and defende the authoritie tearmed Apostolike, eyther the soueraignetie of any Christian king by vniust warres, by filling hilles and valyes with innocent blood, eyther with the infamie and blaspheming of Christ and his faith.

But the Apostolike seat is rather by suche meanes defamed and looseth her authoritie, the true God is dishonoured, and the true title and right of a king is lost and perisheth, as euery wise and Christian man may easily gather by that which Doctor Sepulueda him selfe hath propounded.

This title and right is not founded vpon the entrie into those countries, and against those people to robbe, slay, and tyrannously to rule ouer them, vnder pretence of preaching the faith, as those tyrãts entred & haue done, who by an vniuersall massacre and slaughter, haue murdered such a multitude of Innocentes. But it consisteth of a peaceable, louing, and gentle preaching of the Gospell, and of an vnfeigned introduction and foundation of faith, and of Christes principalitie. Yea, who so euer goeth about to giue our Kinges and Lordes any other title, whereby to obtayne the soueraignetie and principalitie ouer those Indians, is starke blind, offendeth God, is a traitour to his king, and an enemie to the Spanish nation, whom he abuseth and most pernitiously deceiueth, seeking to repleniish hell with soules.

Least therefore any of your Lordshippes graces or fatherhoods

although in our Apologie, wee may deeme wee haue sufficiently and at large answered whatsoeuer may be brought in defence of the said Apologie, yet because the Doctor hath ouerlightly propounded his defences, by parting father Sotoes summarie into twelue

[illegible]

[illegible]

had that been so, wee could not [illegible] people: and therefore the Tyrants haue inuented it, thereby to excuse and iustifie their tyrannies also to deteine so many of the Indians as escaped the oppression and desolation of the first vintage, in bondage and tyrannie. But we may more truely say, that the Spaniards during their aboade in the Indies, haue yeerely sacrificed to their so dearely beloued and reuerende Goddesse *Cenetonsines* more people, then the Indians haue done in a long yeeres. This doe the heauens, the earth, the elements, and the starres both iustifie and bewaile: the tyrants, yea, the very ministers of these mischiefes cannot denie it. For it is euident how greatly these [illegible] furnished with people, as also how we haue nowe laide it waste, and dispeopled the same: wee might euen blushe for shame, that hauing giuen ouer all feare of God, wee will yet neuertheless seeke to colour and excuse these our so execrable demeanours: considering that only for getting wealth and riches, wee haue in 45. or 48. yeeres, wasted and consumed more land then all *Europe*, yea and part of *Asia*,

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